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(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1900.

ART. I.—EXPANSION A POLITICAL AND MORAL OPPORTUNITY.

THERE is little doubt that the majority of the American people are in favor of expansion. So far as the West Indies are concerned the argument against expansion has so little force that a proposition from the Cubans for annexation would, we believe, find ready acceptance. These islands are close to our shores, have a large commerce with us, and we could do more for them than any other power, and they are worth more to us. The great distance of the Philippines, the character of their population and civilization, and the variety of languages they speak raise different questions. But whatever questions are raised that of imperialism is not really at issue. This is a more formidable and forbidding word than expansion, and does not mean the same thing. It has too strong a foreign flavor for our simple democratic palates. It is intended to discredit the idea to which it is applied, and induce Americans, because of their natural antipathy to what it represents, to take firm ground against expansion. If expansion means that in order to govern our distant possessions our government must be clothed with imperial powers and prerogatives we want none of it. But it does not mean that; the word has been coined to strengthen an argument that has manifest weaknesses.

Expansion is not associated in our minds with any bad idea. It is not considered an evil that a child's mind should expand in the school room, nor that it should continue to expand through the college course. We apprehend no danger unless the process be too rapid and expansion becomes inflation. Inflation is apt to lead to explosion, and explosion must end in

by the way, than we have paid for the Philippines, and somewhat more than twice as much as we paid for Alaska.

Ten or twelve years later the great evil which the prophets foretold as the result of expansion west of the Mississippi was reserved for the admission of Oregon. It could never be one of the United States, it was said; the Union was already too extensive. But history shows how every increase of territory strengthened the country. Expansion added vastly to our resources, and some of the best of the populations of Europe came here to help us develop them. Would anybody now propose that Florida and the California territory, out of which three States have already been carried, should be returned to Spain, or that Texas should be ceded to Mexico? While Spain was our neighbor we always had trouble. It began with the administration of Washington. Many of his addresses and messages dealt with the subject of trade and intercourse with the Cherokees, the Creeks, and the Seminoles, which Spain was continually embarrassing. It was not until our border had been extended and Spain lost all her territory that the annoyance ceased. Expansion gave us peace.

Suppose the alarmists of the past had had their way, and our territory to-day were confined to the original eight hundred thousand square miles, would the Constitution be more respected, would the bonds of union be stronger? The nation would be vastly smaller, would it therefore be more secure? Would our prosperity be greater without the magnificent country beyond the Mississippi, without California and Florida? How could we have accomplished an unequaled growth in population, in prosperity, in wealth, in greatness, if we had made the Mississippi our western boundary? The condition of growth is room to grow in, resources to feed upon. We attracted immigration because we had territory to develop; we had increase of population because we had conditions to promote it. Our expansion was inevitable. It was in accordance with manifest destiny. The young nation was possessed of an idea capable of infinite expansion. This idea is that of individual liberty combined with universal cooperation; or, as expressed in organic form in the immortal address at Gettysburg, "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." No

emperor, king, or prince dictates our policies; no ties of royal family affect our relations to other countries; no monarch's ambitions force us into war or entangle us in foreign alliances; no question of proportion of royal blood determines who our ruler shall be. We are free to select the best, and the best we consider the wisest, the fittest, the nearest the people. The poorest and humblest of Europe come here to breathe our free atmosphere, to enjoy absolute equality before the law, to use the abundant opportunities for self-improvement and advancement. This is the idea for which this nation was founded, for which it exists, and by which it grows. The government is not the power which makes this nation what it is; the Constitution, glorious and sacred though it be, is not the spirit of our national life. The Constitution is only the embodiment of the idea, government is only the machinery which makes it effective.

This idea had been caught by other peoples and embodied in constitutions and put into practical effect by governments, differing, it is true, from our own Constitution and our government in many particulars, but based on the same idea. They have copied from us, and we count it part of our great mission to demonstrate before the nations of the world the superiority of this idea. Its expansive power is due to its inherent vitality. It is suited to all zones and to all degrees of civilization. Expansion has not weakened the idea, nor has it weakened the position of our nation. When the empire set up in Mexico fell and a republic took its place we considered it as victory for our institutions; when Brazil sent its emperor across the seas and joined the sisterhood of American republics, making every foot of independent territory between the great lakes on the north and the extremity of South America on the south territory of republics, we felt that our power and influence on the American continent had become supreme and unshakable. To-day no one questions, however men may disagree about the expansion of the Monroe doctrine, that the United States has within its sphere of influence the whole of North and South America. Not by force of arms have we attained to this commanding position, but by the expansive power of an idea conceived by our forefathers, defended by

their sons, and developed by their grandsons. Not by force of arms will we extend the institutions of our free and enlightened country to our new possessions. Everybody knows that we did not send army and navy to Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines for purpose of conquest. We had a higher and nobler idea than that of territorial aggrandizement. Spain has always been a bad neighbor. The plots of her representatives on our frontier vexed the soul of Washington and of every succeeding President until her flag was driven from the mainland. She has been a bad neighbor in the West Indies. In these days countries are closer than they used to be, and Spain's cruel and oppressive doings in Cuba, at the doors of our republic, fired the souls of the American people with indignation, and they said: "You are not fit to rule your colonies; they are in rebellion against you; get you out of them and back to your own country." We would not have interfered in the Philippines or in Porto Rico if Spain had granted the Cubans decent government; but it would not, perhaps could not, and was forced to stand aside. And there are excellent men among us, good citizens, strong patriots, who say we must not take upon ourselves the responsibilities which our action invited; that we are not prepared for them, not equal to them, and that we have enough abuses to reform at home, enough hard problems to solve, enough resources to develop. Andrew Johnson was President in far more exciting and critical times than these, and yet he was not an indifferent spectator to what was going on in the West Indies. In his fourth annual message he said:

> It cannot be long before it will become necessary for this government to lend some effective aid to the solution of the political and social problems which are continually kept before the world by the two republics of the island of San Domingo, and which are now disclosing themselves more distinctly than heretofore in the island of Cuba. The subject is commended to your consideration with all the more earnestness because I am satisfied that the time has arrived when even so direct a proceeding as a proposition for an annexation of the two republics of the island of San Domingo would not only receive the consent of the people interested, but would also give satisfaction to all other foreign nations.
>
> I am aware that upon the question of further extending our possessions

it is apprehended by some that our political system cannot successfully be applied to an area more extended than our continent; but the conviction is rapidly gaining ground in the American mind that with the increased facilities for intercommunication between all portions of the earth the principles of free government, as embraced in our Constitution, if faithfully maintained and carried out, would prove of sufficient strength and breadth to comprehend within their sphere and influence the civilized nations of the world.

Certainly the necessity of curing the gaping wounds made in our beloved Union by the terrible civil war was second to no other problem that could have faced the country; but the President did not believe that it would require all our energies. He was not measuring things with a surveyor's chain; he knew that the American idea is like leaven, capable of infinite expansion, and that we could impart some of that leaven to San Domingo without sensibly diminishing our own supply.

President Grant, who saw further and more clearly than the opponents of his plan to annex San Domingo, said in his second inaugural address:

> I do not share in the apprehenson held by many as to the danger of governments becoming weakened and destroyed by reason of their extension of territory. Commerce, education, and rapid transit of thought and matter by telegraph and steam have changed all this. Rather do I believe that our great Maker is preparing the world, in his own good time, to become one nation, speaking one language, and when armies and navies will be no longer required.

Here is expansion of the ultra type; not the addition of two or three groups of islands, but the federation of the world—all the world one nation. This thought is a quarter of a century old, but it is not yet in our dreams.

Our late chivalrous enemy has not the poor opinion of our capacity of governing and developing that we appear to have of ourselves. Señor Pi y Margall, in a recent speech in the Cortes at Madrid, advocated the sale of all Spain's remaining colonies. He said:

> Let us sell them; let us sell the Carolines and the Marianas; even the Sahara Coast, and the Gulf of Guinea Island. As we have lost the colonies which brought us something, why keep those which compel an outlay for a navy? We innocently thought that only absolute monarchies

could sell whole peoples; but we see that constitutional monarchies can do it also. Let us sell, and for a moment fill the empty vaults of our treasury.

You will perhaps say that that would be to our shame. A greater shame awaits us. In all the colonies the Americans have acquired they will achieve in years what we have not known how to do in centuries. That will be our greatest shame.

That is, indeed, Spain's greatest shame. She would not have lost her colonies if she had known how to govern them. They would not have rebelled if the wrongs they suffered had been endurable. England does not have trouble with her numerous colonies. Her colonial empire embraces all languages, races, peoples, and tribes, from the Americanized Canadian, who enjoys a government republican in fact, if not in form, to the savage of Central Africa, who is being rapidly prepared for liberal institutions. England seeks the good of her colonies, and they crown her with glory; Spain her own glory, and her colonies crown her with shame. The Spanish officer, as the writer found him in Porto Rico, is intelligent, polite, obliging, a delightful social friend; but as a ruler he has little to recommend him. The offices were for him, not for the Porto Rican; the offices were for his personal advantage, and his manner of discharging his obligations suggests that his cardinal principle was to take care of his own personal affairs; his second thought was to serve the government of Madrid; his third, if there was room for a third, to consider the interests of the people of Porto Rico. We Americans believe, with our English cousins, that the first concern of rulers should be the welfare of the people, and history shows that those who disregard this rule fail sooner or later. The law of the survival of the fittest obtains in the realm of human government as well as in the animal kingdom. Those who cannot so govern as to preserve individual rights, maintain justice, increase intelligence and morality, foster patriotism, and create prosperity are not in the true line of succession. There is no expressive power in absolutism and tyranny.

If the United States has demonstrated by its history that it has an idea which enables the individual to develop the best there is in him, to enjoy all the rights and privileges which

are guaranteed to any, we owe it to the world to give it ample facilities for expansion. We are one of the great world powers. We have interests and duties outside our immediate borders. In these days no nation liveth to itself. There is such a thing as the brotherhood of nations, and this brotherhood involves solemn obligations. Humanity has the same large imperious claims, whether it appeals against the bloody king of Burma or the ruthless invader of Madagascar; for the Armenians of Turkey or the oppressed Lutherans of the Baltic Provinces of Russia; against the cruel wrongs of the Philippines or the war of starvation against the women and children of Cuba. We cannot be an indifferent spectator to the world's wrongs, or the world's woes, or the world's wars. We stand for freedom, peace, and prosperity, and when neighbors cry out at our very doors under wrong and oppression we cannot close our ears to their cry. We are in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines to-day because the cruel oppressor would not heed our protest and warning. We are there still because, though the war is over, these islands need a humane ruler. We are pledged to give the Cubans an independent government. We shall keep that pledge, and shall not only establish that independence, but be prepared to maintain it, until such time as the people of that island shall approach us with a proposition for annexation. Porto Rico desires nothing better than to become a part of the United States. With one voice the people told the writer they did not want independence, and would protest against any request for it which might come from Porto Ricans. As to the Philippines, it does not yet appear exactly what our relation to them shall be. One thing is certain, they will not be returned to the rule of the oppressor; another thing ought to be equally certain, and that is that they shall not be turned over to any other power. If they are not to become a province or a territory of the United States, which seems to be the proper solution of the problem, they will be independent, like Cuba, under our protection.

We shall, no doubt, establish American institutions in all these islands, whether they all fly the Stars and Stripes or independent flags. If independence seems best for two of them it will be an independence modeled upon our own. Whatever

be their ultimate destiny we are prepared to give them of our heritage.

Expansion has no terrors for a majority of our people. It has its responsibilities, the serious nature of which we must be prepared to appreciate. They will make us thoughtful, but they need not overwhelm us. There is surely nothing desperate about the venture of preparing a little republic off the Asiatic coast, under a territorial form of government. The Filipinos have proved that they want freedom by fighting valiantly and persistently for it. It will simply be our duty to give it to them in organic form. If we have any confidence in our own idea of government, if we believe it is adapted to other lands as well as our own, why should we fear to extend it over this Asiatic group? Distance is not now the problem that it used to be. The cable brings the Philippines as close to us as Cuba or Porto Rico. Our government talks daily with our representatives at Manila. That we should hesitate to assume new and, in a sense, unknown responsibilities would not be strange, but to refuse to assume them for fear of the possible effect in our Union and our Constitution does not seem to the writer quite rational. We do not, of course, want to subject our system to any unnecessary strain; but the call of duty is the paramount consideration. A man will risk his life to save that of another. If there be risk in assuming control over the Philippines is it not manifest that it is God's purpose that we shall take it? It is by no accident that we are there; and the writer believes there would be more risk in withdrawal than in facing the situation and in taking up our duty.

We will have to make some sacrifices and work very hard in establishing the necessary reforms. But it is not a question of ability; it is a question simply of willingness. We have, we all contend, the best system of government in the world; we are not willing, or ought not to be willing, to admit that it is not adapted to any but the most enlightened people. We have institutions in which we have the greatest confidence as civilizing and ennobling agencies. We know how to be honest and faithful in the discharge of a public trust; how to administer justice as between man and man; how to distribute equitably the burdens of government; how to secure liberty and a fair

opportunity to the individual; how to develop the best there is in man; and how to establish conditions of prosperity and progress. Let us communicate of our best, and we shall have apt pupils, not only in the West Indies, but in the far Pacific.

But the political is really the least important aspect of expansion. The religious and moral issues involved are very weighty. We do not ask that our government shall seize and annex provinces in order that we may propagate the true religion and inculcate sound morals; that would be doing evil that good might come; but, the islands having come to us in a perfectly legitimate way, it is our duty as Christians to do what we can to improve those who are thus made citizens of the United States. It means much that these peoples are now freed from ecclesiastical shackles. They may, without charge of treason, criticise the administration of the Church; they are no longer compelled to support it. The Church may, under happier auspices, be lifted to a position of honor and confidence among true Catholics. It also means that other forms of religion may be freely established. It is not well for religion or people that one Church should be enthroned to the exclusion of all others, or that it should be wedded to the State and become a partner in political schemes. The introduction of other Churches is likely to create a wholesome reaction. We must as a Church, inspired by loyalty to the Master and loyalty to country, go at once to peoples ready to receive us and anxious to hear our Gospel. Protestantism, with its high moral standards, its pure religion, its manifold forces and activities, will be very welcome in the islands which have come to us. Its societies and organizations and the social atmosphere it creates will be a godsend to people suffering from insufficient means of rational enjoyment. Our sacred music will be a great attraction and our Churches, as centers of social as well as religious activity, will be better than clubs, because they will be practically free. Our public school system will be introduced with American institutions and wholesome American literature, and a great work of reform will soon be in progress. The opportunity before us as a nation of Christian people is much greater than we can now fairly estimate. We may not doubt

that it is providential, and that if we promptly improve it greater doors of usefulness in the world will open to us.

We must take up the "white man's burden." It is laid upon us because we are strong and able to bear it. It is laid upon us because our backs are fitted to it. It is laid upon us because we have discovered the secret of ennobling the poor and lifting up the downtrodden. It may be that we shall find the natives of those far-off Asiatic isles "half sullen and half wild," "half devil and half child;" but we have a Gospel of peace, of freedom, of justice, of education and equal rights, and with it we will exorcise the "half devil" and develop the "half child." We will charm away the sullenness with fraternal love, and tame the wildness with humane laws and beneficent institutions. Our Gospel was meant for expansion. It does not weaken Christianity to send it into all the earth. Our churches are stronger and better for what they have done for the heathen world. They are better and more unselfish for their sacrifices, more alive to the needs of our own populations. Withdraw their missionaries from other lands, confine them to the lands of Christian civilization, and you would strike a serious blow at the life and spirit of Christianity. "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty." We must not shut our gates upon the world for fear that the world will come in and contaminate us, or lest we should go out and make the world better. We have a Gospel for the world; the world needs it, and it is our duty to give it to the world.

H. K. Carroll.

Art. II.—IMMORTALITY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The doctrine of immortality as now accepted by the large majority of Christians is the belief in the conscious existence of the spirit of man after death, or in its essential indestructibility as an individual being after death has brought about the dissolution of the body. It must be recognized as true, however, that there is no word in the Old Testament Scriptures answering to our word "immortality," and also that the words used in the New Testament are not, strictly speaking, its equivalent. Immortality in the New Testament is never attributed to the wicked. It is a holy estate. "The king eternal, immortal, invisible," would be tautological if "immortal" means only "continuity of existence," for this is the meaning of "eternal." Whatever the word "immortality" may mean, in the declaration "who only hath immortality," it does not refer to a future eternal existence, for without question angels and redeemed men have such existence. The two Greek terms, *ἀθανασία* and *ἀφθαρσία*, when analyzed do not yield our ordinary use of the term.* In 1 Cor. xv the apostle uses the first of these words in opposition to "mortal" when he writes, "This mortal must put on *ἀθανασίαν*." This is spoken of the body. There are two uses of the second term to be found in the New Testament, first in Rom. ii, 7, "Who . . . seek for glory and honor and immortality, eternal life;" and second in 2 Tim. i, 10, "Hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel." In the first instance, immortality is something to be sought after; in the second, it is revealed alone in Christ. It is, therefore, a holy estate, attained through Christ. So in our use of the word "immortality," we employ it in the ordinary sense—the sense of common parlance—"Exemption from death and annihilation; unending existence; as, the immortality of the soul." †

The task to which the present writer has addressed himself is to find, if possible, this doctrine of the essential immateriality and indestructibility of what we call the soul in the Old Testa-

* Ἀθανασία, ἀ privative and θάνατος, "death," "deathless," "without death." Ἀφθαρσία, ἀ privative and φθάρσις, "corruption," "without corruption."

† *Webster's International Dictionary*, etc., *in loco*.

ment Scriptures. Is it taught there, directly or by implication, and did God's ancient people believe in it? We are well aware that Bishop Warburton in his *Divine Legation* "based an argument for the divine origin of the Levitical system upon the supposed fact that it contained no revelation of a future world." And this view has been concurred in by other eminent scholars, such as Bishop Whately; and Lecky in his *History of Rationalism* partially indorses it. This ultra position no doubt was suggested by the skeptical contention of the last century that the Judaic system was derived from Egypt, and was but a modification of the Egyptian religion. The fact that the doctrine of a future existence beyond death was a very prominent doctrine of the Egyptian religion is to be seen on every hand; it is delineated on their tombs and temples and in the papyrus scrolls buried with their dead; and it is exemplified in their care for the bodies of the dead, which they believed would be inhabited again by the spirits of the departed. But, on the other hand, the fact that Moses in his civil and religious legislation makes no reference to the doctrine may serve to show that he did not in any sense copy the Egyptian hieratic system. Yet we deny that Moses was absolutely silent on this subject. His doctrine of immortality was not the doctrine of the ancient Egyptians, any more than his cosmogony was that of Egypt or of any oriental people.

Is it not expecting something not required by the purposes for which Moses legislated to expect a reference to a future state? We would not expect it in his civil enactments, for they pertain to duties entirely of an earthly and temporal character. Should we expect it in his Levitical institutes? Were not these entirely of a ritual character, and temporal? To what particular portions of these would a reference to the future beyond death be attached? But it may be contended that such reference to the future belonged as a sanction to the moral legislation. Yet the moral legislation of Moses was simply a part of the civil legislation, and a reference to a future beyond this life was not to be expected. Let it not be forgotten by those who deny the immortality of the soul and still believe in the resurrection of the dead that, if the Levitical system had no place for the first, it most certainly had no place

for the second. It was quite late in Israel's history before any intimation of the doctrine of the resurrection made its appearance. But this argument *e silentio*, though much used, is a very deceptive argument. To illustrate, it is well known that the Methodist Episcopal Church believes most explicitly in the doctrine of the immortality of the soul; yet not one word is said about it in our twenty-five Articles of Religion, and only by implication can it be found in our General Rules, in the phrase "to flee from the wrath to come." Further, our Discipline contains quite extensive legislation in the way of Church polity, yet in all of it one will find no hint of immortality. So we think Moses had no reason to enunciate the doctrine in legislation that was for temporal purposes.

But may we look for the doctrine of immortality in the writings of Moses, and where? Evidently we should look for it but incidentally, for, aside from the legislative portions, the rest is historical, and as such not at all likely to contain explicit teachings on doctrines pertaining to the future state. This may be equally said with reference to a large portion of the Old Testament. We can in the very nature of the case only look for this doctrine to be incidentally taught. An appeal, therefore, to inference is entirely legitimate, and, more than that, is the kind of teaching we must expect. Its very incidental character gives it peculiar weight. But it may be said the Old Testament has for its purpose the setting forth of our relation to the true God and our duties to him and, under him, to our fellow-man, and we therefore should expect an appeal to considerations that reach out beyond this life. In other words, we should look for the enforcement of duty by promise of future rewards and threat of future punishment. There is an apparent force in this argument. And it is true that the Old Testament ordinarily enforces the claims of the moral law by considerations of good and evil that belong to this life alone. But the same reason assigned above for the merely temporal character of the Mosaic legislation holds good here. The nation to which these laws were given were peculiarly a theocracy, or under immediate divine government, for the purpose of preparing the way for the coming of the Messiah. They were being held in obedience to just and righteous laws by

temporal punishments and rewards. It is doubtful if these laws would have had any more authority with them if they had been sustained by considerations of reward and punishment beyond this present life. Egypt, with its belief in rewards and punishments in the future, emphasized on every hand, ultimately became utterly corrupt and perished as a nation through its debauchery.

Having, we think, given full weight to the adverse views, we will now show what we believe is an abundance of the most legitimate inferential teaching of this doctrine in the Old Testament. In fact, there are many portions of it that cannot be fairly understood except in the light of the doctrine. Take, for example, the account of the creation of man. We are told that when the Creator came to this crowning work of creation there was a council in the Godhead. God said, "Let us make man in our image." Now man, so far as his physical nature is concerned, is like the rest of animated nature, of which he forms a part. The word "image" marks a distinction that exists outside of the physical. It expresses an affinity with God, a partaking of his nature, and this implies spirituality and indestructibility—therefore, immortality. There is no force whatever in the assertion that we have no evidence that the average Israelite so understood it. The only question is, Is the interpretation we have given legitimately and necessarily in the language? We need not spend one moment of time on the idea that the image consists in the upright form. The image is purely intellectual. It gave man "dominion" over the earth, and power to "subdue" it and make it what nature and her laws could never make it. In other words, it is the god-like attribute of dominion and creation that is here referred to. The creations of the human intellect are creations out of matter and force, making what these would not produce without such creative power. And in the second chapter, seventh verse of Genesis, we are told that "the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground." Here we have the creation of the physical nature of man; this is in common with animal creation. But we are further told that God "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life [Hebrew, 'breath of lives'], and man became a living soul." The only question that can be

considered is that of rational interpretation. What did God intend to teach in this account? For it is outside of legitimate history in the fact that it pertains to things with which history cannot deal. If inspired, as we believe, it is peculiarly from God. It is a revelation of that which no science could discover. The divine procedure here is, in addition to a creation, an impartation. Using the Bible trichotomy, the *soma* and *psyche* are direct creations, the *pneuma* was a gift of God and made man "in the image of God." In other words, the *psyche* and *pneuma*, or *nephesh* and *ruach*, made man "a living soul." These together made man to differ from the beasts, and allied him with his Creator. I think that it is assuming entirely more than any facts warrant when we assume that the intelligent Israelite did not put this very apparent interpretation on this language, which he as emphatically believed as we do came from God.

But in the light of this account of man's creation we are compelled to interpret his pristine estate in Eden. He was endowed with power to live continuously, if he remained obedient to the divine command. Death, whatever that may have meant to him, was the penalty of disobedience. If he did not eat of the forbidden fruit he should not die. He therefore possessed immortality, through the fruit of the tree of life, whatever that was. We have the statement, Gen. iii, 22, that man might "take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live forever." Now this account obviously teaches that in some sense the transgression deprived man of immortality in his present state of existence. It teaches that he is mortal because he sinned, not because of his physical nature or its inherent necessary tendencies to dissolution. But in this account of man's sin and present punishment there is the promise of a Redeemer who should restore man again to his lost estate. The penalty of sin is death, the restoration must be the destruction of death. And in the light of this promise we must read all that we subsequently find in the Old Testament Scriptures. We must, for example, read the account of Enoch's translation found in Gen. v, 24, "Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him." The plain interpretation of this is the one that has always been given to it by common-sense inter-

preters, namely, that we have here an account of a translation from earth to heaven without the ordeal of death. This brief account is entirely insoluble otherwise. Now, we contend that a people who had such a history of the creation of man and his pristine estate, along with the loss of that estate, and the account of the translation of Enoch, must through their faith in this account reach some very definite conclusions concerning man and his future out beyond this life.

In passing we may note the fact that the patriarchs, both antediluvian and postdiluvian, live too nearly in the presence of God and angels not to have some very definite faith concerning what is beyond death. The interview of angels with Abraham on the plains of Mamre, with Jacob at Beth-el, and his wrestling with the angel of Jehovah at Peniel, and other manifestations are too prominent in the development of the religion of Israel not to have their effect upon the faith of God's chosen people. These accounts bring the spiritual and the physical into contact in such a manner as to teach that man belongs to both realms, and that death places no inseparable barrier between them. Would not this be the effect of an angel visitation upon our thinking? When we turn to the history of ancient religions, especially ancient oriental religions, we find that death places no barrier in their thinking to man's existence in some sort beyond it. The Egyptian followed in his thought the soul of his friend out beyond death, through the court of Osiris, to either a happy or miserable estate, according as he had been virtuous or wicked in his life. How unreasonable the belief in the presence of these facts that the Israelites had no conceptions whatever of rewards and punishments beyond the grave!

Turn next to the passage that the Saviour quotes in his controversy with the Sadducees, Exod. iii, 6, "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," with this comment, Matt. xxii, 32, "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." At the time the Lord used this language to Moses, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were dead. The only manner in which the obvious meaning of this language can be evaded is to assume that God was referring to the past; in other words, that he had been the God of Abraham, Isaac,

and Jacob, and would be the God of Moses. But this is in direct conflict with the construction Christ put upon these words. He believed that they were spoken in the present tense. Did Israel so understand them? The burden of proof is upon the individual who affirms they did not. Archæological discoveries have demonstrated that the ages from Abraham to Moses were ages of extensive literary culture. The Babylonian language was the diplomatic language of the entire Orient. The Tel-el-Amarna tablets and the Sumerian inscriptions have dissipated a great many skeptical preconceptions concerning the supposed barbarism of the period. The judgment scenes on the tombs and temples of ancient Egypt show that the intelligent Israelite might understand the declaration of Jehovah to Moses just as Christ himself interpreted it.

The Mosaic enactments against necromancy, and the consultation of familiar spirits, go to show that there was the belief in spirits and supraphysical beings. And these beings were believed to be the spirits of deceased human beings. So Saul went to the witch of Endor, and said in 1 Sam. xxviii, 8, "I pray thee, divine unto me by the familiar spirit, and bring me him up, whom I shall name unto thee." He called for the spirit of Samuel. Now these prohibitive laws, the frequent transgression of the Israelites against them, and Saul's conduct in this instance show a belief in some sort of a conscious existence beyond death. That this belief is right cannot be questioned, for it is the teaching of the Saviour. The wrong was in the use made of it by ancient spiritism. Like its modern congener, it was a great fraud based upon an important truth. Spirits do not "peep" and "mutter," or rattle old furniture, or manifest themselves through ancient witches or modern mediums. Anyone can see how impossible it is that this false belief should exist without the primary belief in the separate existence of spirits. If the Israelite had no belief in that extra-physical existence of the spirit he was incapable of belief in necromancy.

Throughout the entire Old Testament Scriptures the doctrine of the divine spiritual presence stands out prominently. The Spirit of God comes upon, enters into, and speaks through the spirit of man. The prophets speak and write

from a divine afflatus. The declaration of Elihu to Job (Job xxxii, 8), "There is a spirit in man: and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding," is a statement of the basis of the revelation made through Moses and the prophets. The prophet Isaiah says (Isa. lxi, 1), "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me." Far back in antediluvian times God said (Gen. vi, 3), "My Spirit shall not always strive with man." These and numerous other passages indicate that the Spirit of God came into human spirits and, in a manner entirely supraphysical, impressed them. Now, this use of the term spirit in connection with the idea of spiritual communion between the divine Spirit and human spirits shows that there was a belief that the word "spirit" had but one meaning, whether applied to God or man. The meaning of the term as applied to God is very explicit as to immateriality. Could spirit as applied to man mean something wholly different in essence? Most certainly not. You cannot change the meaning of the terms of a problem or proposition and have the deductions legitimate. The *spirit in* man inspired by the *Spirit of* God must be essentially the same in nature. Now, the simple question to settle is, would the intelligent Israelite make these necessary deductions or so understand this? The burden of proof is again on the individual who denies the probability of this understanding.

Again, the more enlightened peoples of the world in all ages have believed that justice and righteousness appeal to considerations that belong to a future state of existence. In other words, righteousness has not its adequate reward nor sin its adequate punishment in this life. Again, we call attention to the Egyptian judgment scenes as an illustration of this. And is it not also true that the condemnation of conscience looks always to the future for its vindication? It says punishment is to come, and it says this up to the very moment of death. Now, it would be assuming a great deal to say that the ancient Israelite did not understand this very obvious import of the prophetic intimations of conscience. In Psa. lxxiii we have some moral problems discussed, showing profound thought upon these questions. The problem of the present prosperity of the wicked up to death, and their frequent

freedom from trouble and pain in the very article of death, perplexed the psalmist, as it does good men to-day. How expressive of the mental bewilderment the statement, "My feet had well-nigh slipped." But can a better solution be furnished than the one found in the sanctuary, in communion with God? It was in the light of God's revelation that he "understood their end." He says, "Surely thou didst set them in slippery places: thou castedst them down to destruction." What destruction? Not in this life, for a destruction in this life or at death would contradict the psalmist's averment above given concerning them. "Death" and "destruction" are, therefore, not the same thing. "Destruction" is beyond "death," and this is the meaning of the expression, "they are utterly consumed with terrors." "Terrors" are a conscious experience of a sinful soul. After this solution of the troublesome question the psalmist says with exultation, "God is the strength of my heart, and my portion forever."

But the proper place to search for the doctrine of immortality is in the sacred lyrics and poetry of a people, for these deal with the spiritual impulses, hopes, and expectations of those given to religious thought and meditation. The hymnody of any religious denomination most expressively sets forth the doctrinal belief of such denomination. So we turn to the psalms and prophets of ancient Israel for the spiritual beliefs of that people. We find a declaration in the first Psalm that refers to conditions beyond death: "The ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous." It certainly cannot be maintained that the psalmist here contemplates an earthly "judgment" and an earthly "assembly of the righteous." Again, Psa. ix, 17, "The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God." It is evident that *sheol* here does not refer to the grave, for that furnishes no distinctive penalty for wickedness. It is equally true that the righteous shall be turned into the grave with all the nations that fear God. In Psa. xvi, 10, 11, the future of the righteous beyond *sheol* is described: "For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell [*sheol*]; neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption. Thou wilt show me the path of life: in thy presence is fullness of

joy; at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore." It is true that this is a prophecy of Christ; but the question is, How would the ancient Israelite understand it? Would he not apply it to himself? Does it not speak of a soul living beyond *sheol*, and of the blessedness of the presence of God and the pleasures at "his right hand?" What is the very obvious meaning here of the "right hand of God?" Again, in Psa. xvii, 15, "As for me, I will behold thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness." When did the psalmist expect to behold the face of God in righteousness? Certainly not on the earth. It is very apparent that he is contrasting the after-death state of the righteous and the wicked; for he says that "the wicked have their portion in this life," and when they die they "leave the rest of their substance to their babes." In Psa. xxiii we have this comforting reflection on the ordeal of death, "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me." It has been said that "the valley of the shadow of death" is metaphorical in this sense, that it refers to the valley and shadow of great afflictions. The writer has carefully examined every use of the term, *tsalmaveth*—"shadow of death"—and finds but two instances in which it is used to designate great afflictions. In all other instances it refers to death in reality. The two instances are both to be found in Psa. cvii, and describe a state of being "bound," and being in "bands." It was this bound and fettered condition that made the figure of "shadow of death" appropriate. Hence we now speak of the bonds of death and the fetters of the grave. But in the psalm in question the individual is represented as "walking through" this "valley of the shadow." It is, therefore, death, and not a figure of death, that is in contemplation. Frequently through the Psalms we meet such expressions as, "I trust in the mercy of God for ever and ever," "I will praise thy name for ever and ever," "His mercy endureth forever," and other equally expressive declarations. These utterances certainly did not come from a people who had no expectation of immortality, or existence beyond death.

But it may be contended that these expressions only prove

a belief in the future resurrection of the dead. But the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead only began to appear in the last thousand years of Israel's history; and the passages relied upon to set it forth are not very explicit until we reach the days of the prophets. The resurrection of the dead is distinctively a Bible doctrine, and finds its crowning proof in the resurrection of our Saviour. But the doctrine of future conscious existence beyond death was in some sense the belief of all oriental peoples. Again, duality of being is necessary to the doctrine of the resurrection. The physical nature is not nearly so essential to the idea of a resurrection as the spiritual. For the spiritual nature is the individual personality; the body is not. This, we think, is illustrated in the language of Psa. xvi, 10, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell [*sheol*]; neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption." *Sheol* is the place of the disembodied soul. "Corruption" is the condition of the body. It is contended by certain Christian materialists that *sheol* uniformly means the grave. There are very few instances in which the grave is the proper signification of the word. It usually refers to the condition of the dead aside and apart from the grave. The Hebrew has another word, *queber*, which uniformly means the grave. But in the text quoted above both the state of the soul and of the body are indicated. The possible reply that this is a case of Hebrew poetic parallelism will not answer, for this parallelism usually adds a supplementary idea to the preceding statement. The soul in *sheol* and the body not seeing corruption is a statement without tautology; while the soul in the grave and the body not seeing corruption is tautology pure and simple. The Christian materialists mentioned above believe that they find in the Old Testament that which sustains their belief in annihilation by death. By putting an extremely literal interpretation on certain words, as "perish," "destroy," "consume," "blot out," they are able to read their ideas into passages entirely poetical. In other words, they literalize passages intensely metaphorical. The poets of ancient times, like our modern poets, contemplated death from the earthly viewpoint, and they called it "a sleep," or "destruction;" and they regarded the dead as knowing nothing of what is going on "under the sun." Such

expressions as are found, for example, in Psa. vi, 5, "For in death there is no remembrance of thee: in the grave who shall give thee thanks?" are employed by these materialists to teach absolute annihilation of being for the present, or a sleep until the resurrection. But, under such a literal construction, they prove too much. They prove the utter and final destruction of all of the dead. A forceful example of this is found in Eccles. ix, 5, 6, as it is usually quoted: "For the living know that they shall die: but the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them is forgotten. Also their love, and their hatred, and their envy, is now perished; neither have they any more a portion forever in anything that is done under the sun." The last expression, "under the sun," is not often quoted. For this indicates the point of view from which the dead are contemplated. Another mistake of this class of teachers is to use those passages that speak of the destruction of wicked nations and peoples as such with reference to the individual wicked beyond death. Nations having only a present existence are punished with destruction here and now; their destruction is the sufficient and final penalty for them as nations.

There are some passages that refer very explicitly to the resurrection of the dead, as Isa. xxv, 8, "He will swallow up death in victory;" Isa. xxvi, 19, "Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead." The vision of the valley of dry bones (Ezek. xxxvii, 1–12) is founded upon the conception of a resurrection. It proves that the concept of a bodily resurrection was neither new nor unreasonable. So also Hos. xiii, 14, "I will ransom them from the power of the grave; I will redeem them from death: O death, I will be thy plagues; O grave, I will be thy destruction." And again, Dan. xii, 2, "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." We hold, however, that the doctrine of the resurrection is only rationally conceivable in connection with the indestructibility of the human spiritual personality. In other words, as the Saviour has shown, it is because there

is an Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob that there can be a resurrection of the dead.

The prophetic character of the entire Old Testament dispensation is predicated upon Israel's belief in a future for the righteous. Throughout their entire history they had their hopes set on the future, and steadfastly looked for redemption through the coming Messiah. Now, it would be exceedingly difficult for anyone to understand what interest generations of dying men could have in something of a merely earthly character in the far-distant future. It might be some gratification to an enthusiastic patriot to know that in some great temporal kingdom set up among his posterity in future ages his country would rise to paramount power in the world, but most certainly such an expectation alone would not minister much to his religious comfort and culture. The religious expectation and hopes of Israel imply a belief in a future of happiness beyond this present life. This devout expectation is very forcibly expressed in the language of Mal. iii, 16–18, where those who fear the Lord await his return and his discernment "between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God and him that serveth him not."

In concluding we desire to say that, though the argument has been largely inferential, it is still legitimate, and unanswerable by him who concedes that the Old Testament is a revelation of God's purposes of grace finding their complete fulfillment in the New Testament, and who concedes the general belief of the ancient peoples of the Orient in the conscious existence of the soul after death; also the belief of the great mass of the Jews of the postexilic period. This belief, which was a fundamental element of the creed of the Pharisees, they must have derived from their ancestors of preexilic times. We therefore affirm that the doctrine of immortality as accepted by the Christian Church at large is to be found in the Old Testament.

J. M°K. Stuart

Art. III.—REVIEWS AND VIEWS OF THE METHODIST BOOK CONCERN.

The readers of this *Review* are among the most interested students of Methodist history. It is due them that they should have the means of knowing somewhat closely the institutions which stand vitally related to the denomination. This conviction prompts the writing of the present paper.

No mistake could be more inexcusable than an assumption that the makers of Methodism were content with a meager intellectual life for the people. The denomination, from its beginnings, was confronted with tremendous tasks. It could not always command the trained leader or the polished weapon for its wilderness warfare. It must take such instrumentalities as came in its way; but, inspiring these with the consciousness of a great mission, it filled many a humble life with the spirit of heroic consecration and of sublime doing, and so it came to pass that much of the pioneer work of the denomination was done, and well done, by men of limited culture. The statesmen and seers, however, of the Methodistic movement never once lost sight of the necessity or purpose of providing the sources of an adequate intellectual life for the denomination which they were building.

No better confirmation of these statements could be asked than is furnished in the history of the Methodist Book Concern. This history is like a wonder-story. At a time when the country was largely a wilderness, when as yet the railroad and the steamboat were undreamed of, when even the printing press was little known, and when the people were all poor, our fathers planned and wrought for a publishing house.

This house was founded upon a borrowed capital of six hundred dollars, and its first catalogue contained a list of but twenty-eight publications, all of them reprints. But behind the movement were deep convictions, earnest purpose, a spirit of sacrifice willing to pay all cost requisite to success.

During eleven decades this institution thus planted, planted in a soil which would seem unfruitful, rugged, and forbidding, has had, with brief exception, a continuously active life. From

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feeblest beginnings it has taken on phenomenal strength and gigantic stature. Its humble borrowed capital of six hundred dollars has expanded to net assets, as per the last annual report, of $3,543,709.87. This, however, is but a partial statement, as during its history the Book Concern has given outright for various Church purposes more than $4,000,000; an amount largely in excess of its accumulated capital.

If we count the entire output of products from the beginning it appears that the Concern has sold $70,000,000 worth of books and supplies. This means that the business, having to advance through many years, and even decades, of struggle and of narrow limitations, has not only created entirely its own capital, but it has made a net earning upon its entire output of nearly eleven per cent. A disposition to criticise adversely the business management of the Book Concern has sometimes seemed to find easy expression. It would appear to be the opinion of some of these critics that the business might have been much better managed if only they, or men like them, had been in charge. But it is respectfully submitted that the business management of the Book Concern, in the light of achieved history, speaks fairly well for itself. The man who would openly assume to be the adverse critic ought, at least, to be tolerably sure of his own acknowledged reputation for business capacity. Moreover, in making up a judgment in this relation, it should not be forgotten that the making of money has never been considered a chief mission of this institution.

It would not be easy to overstate either the volume or the value of results already achieved in this publishing work. The meager catalogue of books with which the Concern began has expanded into a list of more than three thousand publications. In the single department of Sunday school periodicals and helps alone the returns for 1898 show the enormous circulation of 3,219,410 full volumes for the year. The beneficent fruits of the literature issued from the presses of the Book Concern have, through many decades, been widely distributed throughout the land, indeed, throughout the world, and have carried untold enrichment to the religious life of multitudes, both dead and living. This literature has been of a kind only

to minister to a pure and healthy life. Its mission uniformly has been one of blessing and not of hurt. In all its widening flood there have been the intermingling of no impure or unhealthy currents of thought.

This vast output represents not only the contribution of Methodism to the religious literature of the age, but it has proven an unmeasured and invaluable agency in educating, unifying, and inspiring Methodism itself for its great mission in the world.

It is an age when newspapers, periodicals, and books are multiplied on every hand. In the last year not far less than five thousand books alone were issued from the presses of the English-speaking world. It seems a wonder how these masses of literature can be absorbed into the homes of the people. But with all this the Methodist people, *per capita*, are buying more largely the products of the Book Concern than ever before. In the quadrennium ending in 1896 the houses, East and West, sold $8,459,523.84 worth of products, thus averaging a little more than three dollars per member in purchases. In the quadrennium ending in 1848, nearly fifty years earlier, the entire sales of the Concern averaged a little less than one dollar per member.

And who shall prophesy of the future? As long as Methodism is to maintain its integrity as a denomination, so long will its own distinctive literature be a necessity to its life. This Church must command an attractive and great literature for the homes of its people; must provide great teachers and great text-books for the class rooms of its seminaries, its colleges, and its universities; must continue in the future, as in the past, only with more solicitous heart and alert brain, to publish a peerless literature for the growing army of its Sunday school boys and girls. The Book Concern, already great beyond estimate, must, if the denomination shall stand in wise guardianship over its own intellectual life, be by far greater in the future than it has come to be in the present. No institution will be more vital to the vigorous life and prosperity of the denomination than its publishing houses.

The Eastern Concern has been located in New York since the year 1804. The Western Concern had its beginnings in

the year 1820, in Cincinnati. This Concern, starting from humble conditions, has kept steady pace with the growth of our great Western empire, until to-day it is represented by three strong houses, located respectively in Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis. Such has been the growth of Methodism in the central West that the territory now assigned to the Western house contains more pastoral charges by several thousand than are numbered in the entire territory of the Eastern house. Methodism in this Western territory will doubtless have a more expansive life than can be hoped for among the more fixed conditions of the East, and a career of great and continued enlargement may be confidently predicted for the Western Concern.

This writer, however, cannot properly assume to speak further or more specifically concerning the interests so efficiently managed by his able colleagues in the West. It will be the purpose of the remaining part of this paper to deal frankly with certain problems, some of them sensitive and not easy of solution, which relate themselves to the administration of the Eastern Concern. And the first problem to be noticed is that which has come from our—

Real Estate.—The New York Concern is located on one of the most valuable sites of Fifth Avenue. It holds a position which in the real estate world will forever have a high rating. The original securement of this property, however, required the investment of about all the available cash capital of the house. And in this property this capital, so far as current investment is concerned, has been for all these years locked up largely as an unremunerative factor. By this is meant simply that this very costly property has yielded to the Book Concern only the accommodations for a retail bookstore, offices for the Agents, Editors, and the various departments necessary for conducting the business, storage space for merchandise, and floors for a somewhat large manufactory. But, in order to secure sufficiently even these accommodations, the Concern has been forced to pay year by year to the Missionary Society, itself one-third owner of the property, sums varying from $15,000 to $18,000.

In other words, this great property, costing the Book Con-

cern for its share more than $800,000 in cash, has for ten years not only yielded no cash revenue, but the Concern has been required, in order to secure sufficient accommodations under one roof, to become a tenant of the Missionary Society in a measure which has required a cash outlay of from $15,000 to $18,000 yearly.

No attempt is here made to undervalue the rental accommodations which the property has offered for the work of the Concern. It must be obvious, however, to all business discernment that these accommodations for the purposes of profitable enterprise should be covered by a far less invested capital than is here the case.

It is not easy for the mere casual observer, nor for the loyal and enthusiastic Methodist visitor who enters at its Fifth Avenue front, to appreciate how expensive a luxury this property has been to the New York Concern. A simple statement of facts will help to make plain the situation. When the Concern was located at 805 Broadway, and had its factory at the old Mulberry Street stand, there was an annual rental income from the Broadway property netting about $40,000. The removal to Fifth Avenue meant the entire dropping out of this rental income and an added cash outlay of more than $15,000 yearly. This is to say that the occupancy of the present property as compared with the Broadway and Mulberry Street locations has meant an annual reversal of income to the Book Concern of at least $55,000. This means that ten years of residence on Fifth Avenue, as compared with the former locations, has cost the Eastern Concern a sum considerably in excess of half a million of dollars.

Now, in this narration of facts, it is farthest possible from our desire to offer one word of adverse criticism, or to cast a single reflection against the management under which it was decided to secure this Fifth Avenue property. The advisers in this movement include several of the most honored names among the former and present laity of New York Methodism, as well as names foremost in our ministry. The history must simply speak for itself. If a practical mistake was made it was doubtless one very easy, even for wise men, to make. The Church at large was growing phenomenally. The Book Con-

cern was immensely prosperous. To all ordinary vision it would seem that before it must lie an indefinite period of increasing growth and usefulness. The conception of having a palatial Methodist headquarters on Fifth Avenue was alluring. It was easy to secure a consensus of judgment which would declare that such an undertaking could be afforded. Probably no one clearly foresaw that what seemed ideally so splendid an enterprise could ever become a source of embarrassment to any who might come after. But, after all, it must be admitted in the light of experience that no human foresight has so clear a vision as that which after and mature results are likely to awaken.

Another somewhat difficult fact inheres in the very structure of the New York building. It was designed on a plan to furnish spacious headquarters for the Book Concern and the Missionary Society, and it does not easily lend itself to such revisions of arrangement as would make it most suitable for a numerous and profitable office tenantage.

Within the last year, however, under the advices of the present Local Committee and Agents, and by authorization of the General Book Committee, there has been erected on an adjoining lot, belonging to the Concern, an annex which greatly relieves in the main building rooms formerly occupied for manufacturing purposes, thus leaving much valuable space free for general rental purposes. The large store, hitherto occupied as the retail bookstore, has also been rented to a mercantile house, and the retail business of the Concern has been consigned to a much smaller and less expensive space, but a space amply sufficient for its needs at any time. The result of these various changes, many of them as yet incomplete, will be that the Book Concern will no longer be a tenant of the Missionary Society, and that some net revenue from rentals will doubtless hereafter come into its own treasury.

There is another and more favorable phase of the investment in Fifth Avenue which should here be distinctly recognized and stated: this is the appreciation of realty values in the location. Good judges now inform us that the ground alone on which the present structure stands is worth a million of dollars. While, therefore, it is true that we have not

received from this property a cash revenue at all commensurate with its cost, it may not be overlooked that by reason of appreciated values the large investment, as such, would seem amply justified by the mercantile possibilities of the location itself, were the property for sale.

Forecasting the future, many indications make it obvious that this property is located in a section that, in a day not distant, is destined to become one of the most powerful trade centers of the metropolis. There will be a growing demand in this section for rentals. Our territory skyward is unincumbered. As soon as a demand clearly appears for office rentals in this neighborhood, a demand sure to come, four stories should be superimposed upon the present structure, stories which shall be arranged after the most approved style of the modern office building. With such a plan executed the Concern in New York will have under one roof not only the most complete outfit for its own great work, but, in addition, a property adapted to bring to its treasury a return of revenue somewhat in keeping with invested values.

Dividends and Subsidies.—A policy which has told heavily upon the Eastern house, and which has prevailed during the last ten years, is that of paying large dividends to the Annual Conferences. When the splendid Fifth Avenue property was installed it was felt that it would be fitting to signalize the new departure by giving a grand dividend of $100,000. This proposition was indorsed with a grateful enthusiasm. It was never, however, intended that this action should be set as a precedent for succeeding years. It was, nevertheless, such a fine, such a magnificent thing to do, it struck so popular a chord, that a proposition for its repetition was urged with such strength that no opposition was found strong enough to prevent its adoption, and so $100,000 in dividends to the Annual Conferences, and even larger sums, became the regular thing, year by year.

It cannot be denied, however, that this policy has worked a serious practical wrong against the Eastern house. In the decade now closed, a period synchronous with the occupancy of the present property, the books show that the treasury in New York alone has paid for dividends, subsidies, and other

demands of the General Conference, an aggregate sum of not less than $650,000! This great sum has been extracted in cold cash from the assets of the house. If now to this sum should be added the reversals of rental income, amounting for ten years to not less than $550,000, occasioned by the change of location from Broadway to Fifth Avenue, we should have an amount aggregating $1,200,000! Such addition, however, with its logical inferences, needs to be made in order properly to estimate the cost of that policy which located the New York Concern on its present site.

To recapitulate, three general facts, each significant, have powerfully conspired to affect the financial prosperity of the Eastern house. These are, first, the large original cash outlay in the securement of the property, an outlay from which it has been practically impossible, up to date, to secure a proportional income; second, the large relative loss of rental income; third, the greatly increased outlay for dividends, which increase dates substantially from, and largely because of, the occupancy of the Fifth Avenue property.

Both the logical and practical resultant of this combined movement has been to deprive the Eastern house of an adequate and greatly needed working cash capital. This statement should awaken no needless alarm in the mind of any reader. The real estate of this house is unincumbered; it is very valuable. The house is doing a large business, on which, for the most part, it is making a normal profit, a profit as large, perhaps, considering the true mission of the Concern, as ought to be asked. But it ought to go without the saying that this house should never be under the necessity of borrowing money for the transaction of its current business. A policy which denudes the treasury, for any cause whatsoever, it matters not how noble that cause may be in itself, of a needed working capital, is a mistaken policy, and one which, in our judgment, the responsible directory of our general publishing interests ought sturdily to check. As it is, the New York house is paying yearly thousands of dollars of interest money, every dollar of which might now be retained for the uses of the business, had the Concern been permitted to accumulate from its own earnings an adequate working capital.

In this connection it should be emphasized that the bills receivable are largely in excess of current liabilities. But it is also true that with the customary, and seemingly necessitated, methods of business large credits must be conceded to general customers. This method requires the house to advance large volumes of merchandise the returns for which are not realized within several months. The working cash capital should, therefore, be large enough to permit the house to pay cash for all purchases and production, and at the same time to carry its principal customers as may be required.

Distribution.—A question which has a vital bearing both upon the financial prosperity and usefulness of the Eastern house relates to its depositories. For convenience of classification it may be said that the depositories are of two kinds—those owned by, and under the control of, the Book Concern, and those owned by independent corporations.

Of the former class there are, besides the retail store in New York, four, located respectively in Boston, Pittsburg, Detroit, and San Francisco. The usefulness of these depositories comes from the fact that they serve as distributing agencies of Book Concern products throughout their several territories. If these agencies were to confine themselves simply to this mission both their real usefulness and financial success would, it is believed, be fully demonstrated. But, unfortunately, there has grown up in connection with each of these depositories a miscellaneous, or general, bookstore. The term "unfortunately" is used advisedly. It is our clear and firm conviction that the Methodist Episcopal Church, especially in the territory of the New York house, has neither need nor proper function to be in the miscellaneous book trade. Each of these stores necessitates a more costly rental, more numerous clerical employees, and in most ways a more expensive plant than would be required for proper depository purposes, and it may be safely said that the causes for this enlargement do not furnish justifying results for the outlay which they necessitate.

We have personally taken pains to test this conviction within the past year. There is a depository, not to be here named, which, if any, would seem to command a location for success

in a general book trade, but one which for the business of the year last past reports a serious loss, which loss, however, if we were forced to close out the miscellaneous stock on hand, would doubtless appear even greater; and yet, in this same house, it is easy to show from the year's records that in the handling of our Sunday school periodicals alone, allowing sufficiently for required rental space, clerk hire, and all costs of transportation, a clear profit to the business of not less than $4,000 should have been netted.

By reducing all of our stores, including the one in New York, to depositories for handling only Book Concern products, and at most in addition some requisites in demand by our churches, we could as readily accommodate all mail orders with miscellaneous books as now, the legitimate profits upon our own wares would not then be neutralized by the accumulation of stocks not of our production, and we would simply be placing ourselves on the plane of wise policy long since adopted by most of the great publishers of the East, namely, that of carrying in stock only their own products.

More mature observation only serves to confirm in our conviction both the truth and the philosophy of a statement in the report of the Eastern Agents to the Book Committee meeting in Cincinnati, February, 1898, as follows:

> A study of conditions makes evident the reasons why, on general principles, neither we nor any other denominational house can hope for any very marked success in conducting retail stores for the general book trade, especially in the great book-creating centers of the East. While purchasers of Methodist books will naturally seek such books in Methodist stores, the book-buying public will not seek out these stores for other than Methodist publications. We believe the above statement suggests a principle of action so generally true as to preclude the possibility of satisfactory success in the attempt under purely denominational auspices to conduct in the trade centers a miscellaneous retail book business.

The question of the independent depositories is one sensitive of discussion, and any position concerning them taken from the standpoint purely of Book Concern interests will doubtless be thought by some good men to be in conflict with interests which they hold dear to themselves. To these corporations referred to it is a custom of the Eastern house, a

custom long since inaugurated, to grant depository rates. The profits, if any, made by these houses on products thus purchased do not revert to the Book Concern treasury. It is, moreover, evident that the Methodist patronage secured by such houses by so much, or at least in large proportion thereof, is diverted from the Book Concern itself. This statement, if made in open debate, would doubtless by some be disputed; but our conviction is that if these independent houses were not in existence the Book Concern, with its perfect facilities for correspondence and distribution, would very much more profitably to itself than now hold the Methodist patronage within their respective territories.

It is but fair in this discussion that certain motives for originally entering into so exceptional relations with these houses should be clearly recognized. One of these motives grew out of a desire to respond to a demand from certain populous Methodist centers for essential depository privileges. Another motive arose from the hope that the products of the Book Concern would secure a much wider distribution than otherwise through the agency of these houses. Truth, however, compels the statement that, whatever increase in the distribution of Book Concern products may have resulted, this result has come in no such compensating measure as to offset the burden imposed upon the Concern by its practical capitalization of these houses themselves. By the system in vogue the Concern practically advances goods for which it does not receive its payments until these houses in turn sell and collect from their own customers. Thus, so far as its own trade is concerned, the Concern is literally capitalizing these houses.

How serious a matter this credit system is for the Book Concern will best appear in the light of plain facts. At the close of the fiscal year, October 31, 1898, six of these principal houses were owing the Concern an aggregate sum of $98,054.67. For a sum varying more or less from the above amount the Concern carries these houses for practically a whole year in advance of their return payments. In other words, if all of these houses had gone out of business on October 31, 1898, they would still be owing the Book Concern

this large amount for goods already advanced to them, and by them distributed.

Personally, however reluctant we may be to hold the view as against the business plans of some brethren beloved, we have never been able to feel that this is good business for the Book Concern. The opinion of the General Book Committee upon the case is expressed in a resolution taken at its session in New York, February, 1897, as follows:

[In view of the fact that] a large amount of capital is locked up in outstanding accounts with Conference bookstores and Conference depositories; therefore,

Resolved, That such accounts and lines of credit be greatly reduced, and that hereafter a credit of six months be granted to Conference bookstores and Conference depositories on sales, settlement to be made at the end of this time, in cash or approved notes with interest, and that present accounts more than six months old be settled forthwith by payment in cash or such securities as the agents will accept, in order that the business of these stores be put upon a paying basis to the Concern.

Pastoral Credits.—A large number of book accounts are kept with preachers. At the close of the fiscal year, October 31, 1898, preachers were owing $54,001.75. The sum of indebtedness by preachers at the close of each of the last several years has not varied more than two or three thousand dollars from this amount. Nearly all of this money will be paid into the treasury at or before the sessions of the various Annual Conferences of which these debtors are members. Preachers, as a rule, are among the best paying debtors of the house. It is not pleasant to state a truth which marks the exception; but the fact is that in many of our Conferences are a few men, sometimes among those who are drawing the best salaries, who are woefully derelict in the matter of paying their Book Concern bills. It is these men, who number not more than one in forty among all their brethren, who depress a line of ministerial credit that would otherwise be as high as that of a company of bank presidents.

Sunday Schools.—Among the largest patrons are the Sunday schools, with which great numbers of accounts are kept. The credit of the average school is high, though in this field also there are some painful exceptions.

Authorship.—No one can be in the position of Publishing

Agent without being constantly, sometimes embarrassingly, impressed with the fruitfulness of modern authorship. From a dozen to twenty book manuscripts are now offered and declined for every one that a publisher, acting with good judgment, can afford to accept. This fruitfulness of authorship must, we think, be hailed as an auspicious sign of the times, and yet it means an overstocked market; it means that many intrinsically good manuscripts will never reach the form of the printed book, and that many others which arrive at this estate will be doomed to only a limited sale in a competitive and struggling market.

Applications for Place.—One of the most constant and trying experiences of a Publishing Agent arises from the necessity of dealing with applicants for position. The impression seems to be widespread that almost any deserving Methodist, young or old, out of work, ought, especially with the aid of pastoral influence, to be able to secure employment in the Book Concern. It invariably happens that nine out of ten of these applicants have no training which fits them for any work which the Concern needs; but appeals sometimes most pathetic, and in great numbers, for place come from all sources. To a man of ordinary sensitiveness the necessity of denying, even in the most kindly and sympathetic manner, this constant line of applicants is anything but an exhilarating duty.

Agencies.—Since the beginning the traveling preachers have been the recognized agents for getting the publications of the Book Concern to the people. In many ways this has been, and still is, a very efficient system. With the growth of the Church, however, there can be no doubt that the efficiency of this system is relatively declining. Our pastors, especially in the populous centers, are preoccupied men, and it easily comes to pass with many of them that they either almost entirely neglect, or give but indifferent personal attention to, the important matter of introducing the periodicals and publications of the Book Concern into the homes of their people. That this neglect, however caused, is a prime mistake in policy for any Methodist pastor we can have no doubt. It must also be said that a goodly number of the most hard worked of our pastors are too sagacious to make this mistake.

We believe that no busy pastor can secure reinforcement for his own work more helpful than will be sure to come from his observance of Wesley's injunction, "To *take care* that every society" which he serves "be supplied with our Church literature." The people who read our weekly Church papers, and whose library shelves are stored with the best Methodist books, unquestionably prove the most intelligent, loyal, and valuable church workers. It is the business of a Methodist pastor to be the builder of Methodism in his parish, and he can succeed in a large healthy way in this work only as he secures the most intelligent cooperation of his people. There are few more vital needs to our denomination as a whole to-day than that its wide lay ranks shall become thoroughly and distinctly intelligent concerning the genius, the work, and the life of Methodism itself. Any pastor, however large he may be in himself, or however busy, who neglects the appointed agencies for this kind of intelligence, whatever else he may do, is neither doing the best service for himself, for his individual parish, nor for his denomination.

But we are forced to acknowledge the widest practical difference between pastors in this vital service for their people. The books of the Concern show that the presence of some preachers in a community is a guarantee that this community will be well supplied with Methodist literature, while other men, in this respect, leave a tract of barrenness all along the line of their pastoral charges.

The whole question of intermediary agencies through which the literature of our great publishing houses shall most efficiently be carried to the homes of the people is not only exceedingly important, but very sensitive. It is the opinion of most careful observers that the present system needs decided revision. It is a large question, and one which should undoubtedly command most careful consideration from the Committee on the Book Concern at the next General Conference.

Real Purpose of the Book Concern.—The undoubted fundamental purpose of our fathers in founding the Book Concern was to create an agency through which could be provided a literature suitable in quality and price to the needs of the Methodist people. We are among those who believe that this

purpose should never be diverted and never lost sight of. We are by no means unaware of the large incidental demands that have been made, both in real usage and in platform appeals, upon the Book Concern. For a long period the salaries of the Bishops were paid from its treasury. It seems a fixed usage that the expenses of commissions authorized by the General Conference shall also be paid from the same source. There have been times when the Church has not raised a sufficient sum to pay the expenses of a General Conference. The deficit has been borrowed from the Book Concern, and it is not in our present knowledge that these sums thus borrowed have always been returned.

Latterly, especially, there has been from some sources an immense demand for the payment of large dividends to the Annual Conferences. This demand has been so pushed as to make it appear that in the minds of some, at least, the very chief function for which the Book Concern exists is to pay these dividends.

Our position here must not for one moment be misunderstood. We give place to none in the esteem, veneration, and affection in which we hold the superannuated preachers of Methodism. Many of these men have records which enroll them among God's elect heroes; nearly all of them are noble and deserving. To leave the temporal needs of these men, in the period of their age and feebleness, unsupplied would be worthy of a deep and dark reproach against the Church which they have so faithfully served. The Church can show loyalty to its divine Master no more impressively than by taking royal care of these heroes of service.

But, with all this, we cannot escape the conviction that it is most unideal that the Church, in order to aid itself in the discharge of this great duty, should resort to the expedient of laying its literature under tribute. In our thought the function of a Church literature is essentially holy, and it should be permitted to go forth upon its sacred mission weighted with no embargoes. Sacred as is the cause of caring for the superannuated preachers, the literature of the Church ought not to be taxed even for this purpose. The Church, through other channels, and by generous devisings, ought to take care of these

men. In the meantime she ought to be most alertly and inspirationally alive to her obligations for the religious literary training of the millions already within the fold, and of the millions more who, in the near decades, ought to be directed by her life.

We may not forget that this Church is about to step over the exalted threshold of the twentieth century. This century will be ablaze with the brightest lights of thought, of invention, of material progress. It will be a century in which no Church, whatever its past record, can hope to hold a commanding and progressive place save as, among other achievements, it is itself the creator of a great and educative Christian literature for its own people. A Church that would be indifferent to this mission is a Church that the twentieth century will snuff out of life.

Moreover, this is to be a century of stupendous competitions, a century in which Christian literature ought to be left free to carry its very best messages along lines of least resistance—this includes lowest possible cost—straight to the homes and hearts of the people. In this century the publishing houses of Methodism ought to be a mightier factor in our denominational life than ever before. There will be demanded of these houses a better product than any hitherto produced. We must produce a literature which shall be fully the equal of the best that may come from the purest heart and the clearest brain of the world.

In our twentieth century Church the Book Concern should have a mission little less sacred in our thought than was that of the ark of God in the camp of ancient Israel. We close by expressing the reverent conviction that even a General Conference ought to be most studiously careful as to how it reaches forth its hand to touch this ark.

George P. Mains

Art. IV.—TAPPING ON THE WHEELS.

The Roman Catholic Church of to-day makes one think of a great train amid the mountains, stopping a while to allow the train men to go around and to tap on the wheels to see that all is well before the perilous descent is made to the plain below. There is a consciousness of danger among the leaders of the Church, and they are acknowledging it with unwonted frankness. Never before did the Roman writers and thinkers speak out as they do to-day. They are beginning to realize that the Church is out of harmony with the age. Something must be done, or their hope of the leadership of Christendom and of final universal dominion must be forever abandoned. The change which they wish must come soon, or the nations yet in Roman vassalage will forswear their allegiance and demand new constitutions which will guarantee to the people religious liberty.

Here is a quotation from the *Civita Catolica*, the organ of the Jesuits of the city of Rome:

> Wealth and power no longer belong to the Catholic nations; they have become the appanage of peoples who have separated from the Roman Church. Spain and Italy, France, and a large part of Austria, if compared with Germany, England, and the United States, are feebler in the military department, more troubled in their politics, more menaced in social affairs, and more embarrassed in finance. The papacy has had nothing to do with the conquest of one half the globe, of Asia and Africa; that has fallen to the arms of the heirs of Plotinus, of Luther, of Henry VIII. All the vast colonial possessions of Spain are passing into the hands of the republic of Washington; France yields the sovereignty of the Nile to Great Britain; Italy, conquered in Abyssinia, maintains with difficulty her maritime influence by following in the wake of England. Here have we, in fact, all the Catholic countries reduced to submit to heretic powers, and to follow in their traces like so many satellites. The latter speak and act, and the former are silent or murmur impotently. This is how affairs stand at the end of the nineteenth century, and it is impossible to deny the evidence of it. Politically speaking, Catholicism is in decadence.

Plotinus was one of the founders of the Neoplatonic school, and Neoplatonism was an effort of paganism to counteract and prevent the spread of Christianity. Some speak of

Neoplatonism as a collapse, and some as a consummation. It was certainly far in advance of any school of philosophy which had ever preceded it. The doctrines and ethics of that school are far nearer the truth of our holy Christianity than are many of the dogmas and teachings of modern Rome. It is reassuring to know that our inheritance from Luther has helped to uplift these mighty Protestant nations and make them what they are and ever will be, the leaders and guides and protectors of all mankind. We should not shrink from acknowledging that we are proud of the inheritance we have received from Henry VIII. He it was who broke the yoke of priestly tyranny from the neck of Britain and thus made her future greatness possible.

Mr. Joseph Müller, a Roman Catholic writer of Bavaria, after pronouncing Protestant dogma utterly worthless, speaks out as follows:

> We have, however, to remark a victorious movement of Protestantism, spite of the nothingness of its dogma, and a surprising retreat of Catholicism in all domains and in all countries. Wherever Catholicism encounters Protestantism it seems unable to cope with it. . . . In Alsace the increase of Protestants is double that of Catholics. In 1895 there were in Prussia 18,000 conversions from Catholicism to Protestantism, and only 2,000 from Protestantism to Catholicism. Worse even than this numerical inferiority is the backward movement of Catholics in all that concerns rank, intelligence, and prosperity. In the Catholic States it is simply astonishing to see the influence which a Protestant fraction, a merest minimum, exercises in the direction of political affairs and in scientific questions. One is most struck with this in France and in Hungary.

The *Homiletical Review*, after making these quotations, justly remarks:

> That is confessedly a bad state of things for Romanism at its entrance upon the twentieth century, and the worst thing about it is that it is undoubtedly so. The reason given by Mr. Müller for this political, intellectual, and religious inferiority and decadence is that Roman Catholics "do not accord to reason and to action the important rôle that they play among Protestants." But does not this show that Romanism is not the religion needed to elevate and save mankind? And do not all the signs indicate the approach of a great breaking up of the false and impracticable system?

Well may the train men of Rome go tapping on the wheels

to see that all is well before the great train goes plunging, mid the fog and darkness, down grade, into the twentieth century. Many outside of the priesthood and the religious orders see clearly that there is danger ahead.

An editor in Barcelona, Spain, has recently reviewed the history of Catholic nations, from the defeat of the great Armada sent against England by Philip II to the defeat and overthrow of Maximilian, and the expulsion of the Spanish power from the western hemisphere. "Of what avail is it," he cries, "that popes, cardinals, archbishops, and bishops bless our banners and send them forth with the promise of victory, when the experience of centuries has taught us that they will return to us again trailing in the dust? Protestant nations are growing stronger and more prosperous all the time, while Roman Catholic nations are either stationary or on the down grade." The lesson to be learned from the Barcelona editor's article is that God blesses what the pope curses and curses what the pope blesses.

A strong side-light thrown upon this subject comes from a book recently published in France, which has already been translated into many languages and is having a large circulation. Its title is *Anglo-Saxon Superiority: to What It Is Due.* It is a work dealing, from a French point of view, with the causes of the superiority of the English-speaking peoples. The author's name is Edmond Demolins. He begins his preface thus:

> Anglo-Saxon superiority! Although we do not all acknowledge it, we all have to bear it, and we all dread it. The apprehension, the suspicion, and sometimes the hatred provoked by *l'Anglais* proclaim the fact loudly enough. We cannot go one step in the world without coming across *l'Anglais.* We cannot glance at any of our late possessions without seeing there the Union Jack. The Anglo-Saxon has supplanted us in North America, which we occupied from Canada to Louisiana, in India, at Mauritius (the old Ile de France), and in Egypt. He rules America by Canada and the United States, Africa by Egypt and the Cape, Asia by India and Burma, Australasia by Australia and New Zealand, Europe and the whole world by his trade and industries and by his policy.

A map accompanies this remarkable book, in which the author shows that the Anglo-Saxon race dominates half the world

nd threatens much of the other half. After contrasting the individual life, the family life, the school life, the social life, the business life, and the army life of the French with the English, the author gives startling statistics concerning marriage, births, and deaths, which are enough to make the face of any Frenchman who loves his country turn pale. From 1883 to 1890 there were more deaths than births. In 1890 there were twenty thousand two hundred and twenty-three less marriages than in 1884—a period of six years—and the decrease has been constant. Norway doubles her population in fifty-one years, England in sixty-three, and, the author might have added, the United States in thirty-five years. And since this book was written Dewey has sailed into the harbor of Manila, and the Stars and Strips are waving over the Philippine Islands. The prophecies of the ever-extending dominion of the Anglo-Saxon race seem in process of rapid fulfillment. The book is vastly interesting, but is somewhat disappointiug. The author gives all the reasons for Anglo-Saxon superiority but one, and that is by far the most weighty of all. He does not say, as he should say, in all fairness, "The dominant religion of France is the Roman Catholic, and the dominant religion of England and the United States is the Protestant faith." Why does he not confess this? Why does he not acknowledge that as a nation builder Rome is a failure, an utter failure? She can destroy, but she cannot build. Whatever of national prosperity may come to a people dominated by the Roman Catholic faith comes in spite of the Church and not because of it. But there are so many confessions in this book that we may forgive M. Demolins for ignoring the religious question.

The book has been reviewed almost universally by the French press. In *L'Echo de Paris*, M. Lucien Des Caves wrote, under the title of "A Book of Alarm:"

> Truly a terrible and admirable book—terrible because of its lamentable statements founded on carefully verified documents; admirable because of its conclusions, which, if intelligently heeded, can only lead us to improvement. I should like to see M. Demolin's book in the hands of all heads of families, of all educators of our youth—if not in those of the men who govern our country—for the author has sufficiently demonstrated that the interest of these is solely to keep whole as long as possible the crust of the now rancid cheese in which they live.

Another great paper, *Le Paris*, ends its review as follows: "We often feel we know of no remedy, so that we, the descendants of the Fontenoy soldiers, are disposed to thus address Messieurs les Anglais, '*Morituri vos salutant.*'"

Since M. Demolins's book was written the lurid light of the Dreyfus case has been thrown upon France. But there is life for France. In Loubet she may have found her Abraham Lincoln. Mexico is setting a grand example to all Roman Catholic nations. Her *renaissance* never came until Comonfort in 1856 reduced the Church to obedience to the civil power and compelled the Roman hierarchy to submit to the laws of the land. Juarez and Diaz followed the same line of policy, and to-day there is religious liberty everywhere in Mexico. There is secure and stable government; there is protection for life and property such as were never enjoyed under the old *régime*. In 1856 Comonfort would not allow the clerical party to drive him from the presidential chair, as they had many of his predecessors. The monks of St. Francis formed a conspiracy against him, and secretly planned his overthrow. But, just before the time set for the uprising, he marched his troops to the monastery of St. Francis, entered it by force, captured the monks, and sent them adrift, fully six hundred strong. Then with his cannon he plowed a street through the monastery, which street bears the significant name "*Independencia.*"

The assertion that an Italian priest on the banks of the Tiber has civil and spiritual control over all the nations of the earth is monstrous and ridiculous; and the attempt to make that claim good will be resisted by even so-called Catholic nations. The time is passed for that. That wheel is cracked and broken. The train men had better take it off and put a sound wheel in its place. This would be a good substitute: "Civil and religious liberty must be acknowledged by the Roman Catholic Church as the inalienable inheritance of all mankind." Take off your old cracked wheel, ye Romanists, and put this other on, and your great train may roll in safety down the grade to the plain below. A cartoon published in a certain illustrated paper in February, 1899, deserved a wide circulation. It was a picture of a lean, hungry-looking Spaniard, tottering along with a great fat priest on his back. Around the feet of

the Spaniard were spread the maps of France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, and underneath it all this legend: "The Burden of the Latin Race." The cartoon was republished in Mexico, and made its impression upon thousands of people. It was circulated in the cars by the newsboys far and wide. The writer sent a copy of it to the *Freeman's Journal*, of New York, with the request that it be amended a little and published again. The amendment proposed was, to add to the map all of South America, Mexico, the south of Ireland, and lower Canada, and write underneath the picture thus amended, "The Burden of all these Races." And what a burden they have borne for centuries! Think of Ecuador with its ninety-six per cent of illiteracy. Think of all South America with its eighty-five per cent of illiteracy. Think of Spain with its eighty per cent of illiteracy; and then think what these nations might have been, if they had been the inheritors of the civil liberty won by Henry VIII in his battle with the Church, and of the theology and faith and scriptural ethics of Martin Luther.

But the leaders of the Roman Church do not appreciate their own failures. They are not willing that Protestants should try where they have failed. Archbishop Ireland gravely informs us that Protestant missionaries are not wanted in Porto Rico, Cuba, or the Philippines. The Archbishop of Manila has been thundering forth his anathemas against all those who have any dealings whatever with Protestants. The following is a quotation from a paper called *The Standard*:

A recent issue of the Manila *Times*, sent to the *Standard* by a correspondent, contains a report of a sermon preached by a Jesuit priest in one of the leading churches of Manila, in which he enumerated the various offenses for which excommunication was the penalty. Two specifications are that "any one contributing so much as one cent to any Protestant object—schools, hospitals, or anything Protestant—comes under the worst form of excommunication," and that "all newspapers and publications which commend Protestants for their work, or publish announcements of Protestant gatherings, or openly favor heretics in any way, come under the fiercest excommunications of the papal bull." The *Times*, a non-sectarian and, judged by its advertising columns, not particularly scrupulous sheet, protests against such utterances, and publishes announcements of Protestant services along with the Roman Catholics.

It is evident that the entrance of Protestant missions into our new possessions will be stoutly resisted; but we will go there, all the same, will plant our churches and schools everywhere, will do our utmost to furnish every Roman Catholic on earth with a copy of God's word, and will show them all the way out of the darkness of mediæval superstition into the glorious light of the Gospel of the Son of God.

Cardinal Gibbons should ask the pope to summon an ecumenical council, that they may make haste to repeal some of the childish and unreasonable, unscriptural and unbelievable dogmas which have been promulgated within the nineteenth century. Let there be an honest effort to harmonize the doctrines of the Church with the Holy Scriptures, and its policy with the spirit of the age. Let the money-getting schemes of purgatory and indulgences be for evermore forbidden. They justly aroused the wrath of Martin Luther and sent him to nail his immortal theses to the cathedral door; and his indignation at such ecclesiastical robbery carried on by the Church in the Master's name is part of the inheritance we have received from him. Do away with it all! Give the people the Bible! No nation ever rose to greatness and prosperity such as the Protestant nations of the present confessedly enjoy that did not allow the free circulation of the holy book among the masses of the people.

Do these things and the great train, with one seventh part the population of the world aboard, will glide smoothly and safely and triumphantly down into the twentieth century. But if the Romish Church heeds not these counsels let it be assured there is danger ahead and that the *Civita Catolica* does not overestimate it.

C. C. McCabe

Art. V.—THE PRINCE OF DIPLOMATS.

In the Easter number of *The Outlook* for last year was an interesting article by F. Marion Crawford on Pope Leo XIII. Mr. Crawford may hold a high place in the literary world as a writer of fiction, but truth is mightier than fiction. He propounds and seeks to answer the question, "What has been the effect upon the world in the fifth of a century of such a power (Leo XIII) acting continually at one point?" Mr. Crawford, a zealous Roman Catholic, seeks to prove that the result has been wonderfully beneficial to the peace of nations and to the permanent good of the human race. "Of few popes can it be said that their political influence throughout a long reign has been so steadily and universally beneficent;" "the man who has set an example of toleration to his age." But to arrive at this conclusion Mr. Crawford has utterly ignored certain facts and has assumed that which many of us are not ready to admit, that the success of politico-ecclesiastical Romanism is a blessing to humanity. He asserts, contrary to the facts, that the questions which proved fatal to Pius IX have been prudently left to themselves. On the contrary, Leo XIII has constantly repeated the "*non possumus*" and the "*non expedit*" of Pius IX. We agree that the pope has apparently "done more to give the Roman Church strength and security than a dozen of his predecessors;" that "his has been a political pontificate;" and that "it is as a diplomatist that Leo XIII will be remembered in history."

Vincenzo Gioacchino Pecci was born at Carpineto, March 2, 1810. His father was Count Ludovico Pecci, ex-colonel in the army of Napoleon I. At eight years of age he was put into the Jesuit College at Viterbo. "In the year 1821, at the high altar of the Church of St. Ignatius, he received for the first time that Jesus of whom later he was to be the vicar on earth"—meaning that he took into his mouth the wafer of the Romish sacrament. In 1824 Pope Leo XII reopened the famous Jesuit College in Rome, and immediately young Gioacchino Pecci became one of the students. He was a very apt scholar, and in 1830 we find this record concerning him:

"*Inter theologiæ academicos V. Pecci strenue certavit.*" At twenty-two he took his diploma with the degree of doctor. "The Jesuits, ever the faithful supporters of the Church, by their instruction and training had molded the mind of Gioacchino Pecci, and hence the sons of Loyola accompanied him to the altar where he celebrated his first mass in the church which is a monument to St. Ignatius." * December 31, 1837, he received full orders as priest at the hands of the Jesuit cardinal, Carlo Odescalchi. He was enrolled among those to be prepared for a diplomatic career. In 1838 he was sent by Pope Gregory XVI as papal delegate to settle serious difficulties at Benevento. Having succeeded in this mission he was recalled to Rome, and then sent to Perugia to quell the disturbances there and to destroy the secret societies organized against the papacy. In the Consistory of June 27, 1843, he was made titular Archbishop of Damiata, and in the following spring sent as nuncio to Belgium. Here for three years he exercised himself in the art of diplomacy, and King Leopold decorated him with one of the highest titles of his kingdom. In July, 1846, he returned to Italy as Archbishop of Perugia, where he ruled the Church for thirty-two years. In the Consistory of 1853 Pius IX made him a cardinal. In 1877 he was called to Rome as "chamberlain of the Holy Church." Pius IX died February 7, 1878, and on February 20 Cardinal Pecci was elected his successor, being sixty-eight years of age. Gambetta, writing of the event to a friend, said: "*On a nommé le noveau Pape. C'est cet elegant et raffiné Cardinal Pecci, eveque de Perouse. Cet Italien, encor plus diplomate que pretre, est un opportuniste sacré.*"

The condition of things which prevails in Europe to-day is very different from that which existed when Leo XIII was elected. The new position created for the papacy in 1870 has produced results which have not been fully appreciated. The energies which before were employed in the civil administration of the Papal States have since been directed to politics in different parts of the world. The disturbed state of society in the different countries has furnished the papacy with a most favorable occasion for the carrying out of its dark designs.

* F. Di Domenico, *Vita e Pontificato di Leone XIII.*

Consider the state of things when Pius IX died. The politics of Napoleon III, in the occupation of Rome, were not very pleasing to the pope king, who wanted to be protected but did not desire a master in his own house. The conduct of the French ambassador, and of the generals in Rome, was very irritating to the Vatican, so that the cardinals were not sorry for the defeat of the French in 1870. The Vatican, however, did not foresee all the consequences of that German victory. With Austria the pope was only on fairly friendly relations, though that country was looked upon as the future hope of the papacy, and the emperor, Francis Joseph, as the one who would use all his influence to favor the reinstatement of the pope in his temporal domains. The Vatican cherished the hope that the powers would prevent the Italians from coming to Rome, and even after they had entered the city it was supposed that their stay would only be temporary. The spirit of resentment in Pius IX because of the indifference of foreign governments became very manifest. The *nuncii* at Paris and Vienna were both recalled, one because the government had changed to a republic, and the other because he had failed to persuade the emperor of Austria to support the rights of the papacy as against Italy. Pius IX spoke freely to all whom he met concerning what he thought of certain governments and their rulers. One day Cardinal Antonelli called the pope's attention to the complaints that were being received because of his language, but all to no effect. Antonelli was corrupt, but a most astute diplomat. Pius IX, on the contrary, had no patience with diplomacy, and he became more and more irritated against those who had tried to satisfy him with fine promises only. Cardinal Antonelli suddenly died, and the pope sought to change affairs by disregarding diplomatic courtesies with governments in which he no longer had any hope. The result was, diplomatic relations broken off with Russia, Prussia, and Switzerland; disaccord with England; and Rome only on speaking terms with Austria, Spain, and Belgium. Everywhere the Vatican was in trouble and confusion. The continued war between the papacy and the Italian government did not improve matters. Both parties tried to explain the situation to the different powers, but their explanations only

emphasized the difficulties. As Mr. Crawford states, "Civilized Europe was anti-Catholic where it was Protestant, and antipapal where it was Catholic." It was when things were in such a state that Pius IX suddenly died.

Consider now the reasons for the election of Cardinal Pecci —Leo XIII. It was an anxious time for the papacy. Should the new pope be a warrior, or should he be of a conciliatory character? The idea of electing a man who would immediately rush into battle did not seem wise to any, for it was feared that the Church would meet with greater difficulties than she had yet encountered. The non-Italian cardinals decided the question. The new pope must be one who would maintain the rights of the papacy, but not be a man of violent aggressive action. Some of the cardinals expressed fears about holding the conclave in Rome because of the supposed hostility of the Italian government. Crispi, then Secretary of State for the Interior, replied: "The Italian government knows its duty, and is able to guarantee absolute liberty to the conclave and protection to the individual cardinals. If, however, it shall be decided to hold the conclave out of Italy the government will not interfere, but if such a decision should be taken in hostility to Italy, then the government will be free to act as it may judge best." The cardinals soon answered that the conclave would be held in Rome, and in the Vatican. On a third point also the cardinals agreed—that they would seek in the election not to prejudice or compromise the future. Hence they would elect a man sufficiently advanced in years to give the hope that he might not last long, so that if their experiment did not succeed, or the circumstances should soon require a change of policy, a new conclave would not be far away. How vain are all human previsions! If the cardinals who met in the conclave of 1878 had been able to foresee that Gioacchino Pecci would have lived more than about ten years it is very doubtful if he would have been elected. In conformity with the above-mentioned intentions they prepared the chessboard, and passed in review the men who were eligible. Governments, through their diplomats, and the press, took a hand in the interesting game. The several governments expressed themselves in the following terms:

"That the new pope should be a man of mild temperament in his dealings with all, and one who will render a reconciliation with Italy possible." Who besides a few intimate friends would have thought of Cardinal Pecci as the man for the occasion? The chief managers of the campaign in his favor were Cardinal Franchi, Cardinal Camillo di Pietro, and Mons. Galimberti, who through their many and influential acquaintances in Rome and in the other capitals of Europe, and by means of the vast sums at their disposal, soon enlisted the press of the various nations in favor of their candidate. Even Roman princesses invited press correspondents to dinner in order that they might talk to them in favor of Cardinal Pecci. A French writer represented Gioacchino Pecci as one "distinguished for his character, energy, wisdom, and virtue; for his docility joined with severity; one who can make himself loved and feared." This was copied into the different papers in Europe, and was brought to the notice of the representatives of the interested governments, who soon reported in favor of the election of Cardinal Pecci. It is interesting to see also how the liberal press of France, Germany, and England was persuaded to favor the election of this liberal cardinal, who promised a happy reconciliation with Italy, for it was positively declared that, if elected, Cardinal Pecci would at any cost come to an understanding with the Italian government, and promote peace among all nations.

When the cardinals went into conclave it was a foregone conclusion that Cardinal Pecci was to be the successor of Pius IX. At first the votes were scattering, but on February 20, 1878, he received forty-four votes out of sixty-one, and was declared elected. He immediately chose the very significant name of Leo XIII. Elected under such circumstances, Leo XIII saw before him many difficulties. Must he conform his conduct to the manifest desire of the cabinets of Europe and to the principles expressed by his friends and by the press which favored his election? Or must he at once show that at heart he is as much an intransigent as was his predecessor? His first act revealed the secret. It meant no concession to the Italians in Rome. It had been the custom for the newly elected pope to impart his blessing to the people assembled in

the great piazza of St. Peter's from the balcony over the main entrance. The question was, Shall this be done as of old when the pope was also king, or shall it be done within St. Peter's, seeing that the pope is a prisoner? Leo XIII imparted his blessing to the people gathered within the walls of the great church. After his coronation his first thought was to reward his friends who had been the chief agents in his election. Cardinal Franchi was made his secretary of state and Cardinal Camillo di Pietro his chamberlain, while Mons. Galimberti was later created cardinal. Leo XIII did not hesitate to let it be known that in time he would provide for all his friends who had contributed to his election, as in fact he did. Whatever may be said of the absolutism of the papacy, no pope can afford to utterly neglect the influential members of the college of cardinals who may not agree with him. Leo XIII knew that he must also content these, otherwise he would find every step of his way blocked, or there would soon be another conclave to elect his successor. With great skill and prudence, for the moment he contented all until he had time to effectuate his plans. He was especially considerate of those who had opposed his election, stating that he would seek their wise counsel in the difficulties that confronted him at present as well as in those which might arise in the future.

We have seen that the two fundamental ideas in the platform of the party which elected Leo XIII were, a disposition to come to a reconciliation with Italy and a less arrogant attitude toward all governments having relations with the Vatican. The position was difficult. In face of the prescriptions left him by Pius IX, and the aspirations of the cardinals about him, the pope could say, "I cannot immediately declare for reconciliation with the kingdom of Italy," implying that he would as soon as he could, and on the other hand he could not disregard the ideas to which he owed his election. Meanwhile some influential ambassadors, expressing their congratulations to the pope because of his election, alluded, as was natural, to what might be the policy of the papacy in the future. The secretary of state, Cardinal Franchi, replied that, considering the very great difficulties in which Leo XIII found himself, he could not openly and immediately go contrary to the policy

marked out by his predecessor, and that he needed time to study the complex questions before declaring what his policy would be. These ambassadors, as if to confirm the accusation that "diplomacy is hypocrisy and double dealing," did not hesitate to say that "it was not necessary to give a too literal interpretation to the expressions indulged in before the election. Since the person indicated had been elected their governments would not be too exacting as to his mode of procedure." These declarations brought great relief to Leo XIII. The first critical moment had passed, and the pope was left to do about as he pleased. The press, too, had to be satisfied. This was done by turning now toward this party and then toward that. For a while it was a sort of seesaw from one to the other until the equilibrium was found. To this end two new papers were started, one of them being edited by the pope's faithful friend Galimberti.

Suddenly Cardinal Franchi died, after occupying the position of secretary of state for only five months. According to the shrewd judgment of Leo XIII the time had not yet come nor had the occasion presented itself for an open manifestation of the ultimate policy of the pope, and hence Cardinal Nina was selected as secretary of state, which apparently meant moderation. This kept the different governments quiet, though it irritated for a moment the intransigent party, who studied to bring the new secretary of state into confusion and trouble at every step, they not understanding as yet the deep designs of their master at the helm. Because of political blunders Cardinal Nina was soon obliged to resign. His successor was Cardinal Jacobini, nuncio at Vienna, who was not known to be pronounced in his views as to one party or the other, but was a necessary element in the transformation. One evening an Italian senator called on the cardinal secretary of state and their conversation naturally turned to the prospects of reconciliation. It was soon known by the intransigent party that Cardinal Jacobini had been having an agreeable time with an Italian senator. They asked him what he meant. He with the greatest calmness replied, "Reconciliation? Nonsense! Let them [the Italian government] get out of Rome, and then we will discuss with them." What hypocrisy!

Soon an event occurred which threw the whole camp into confusion. When, on July 13, 1881, the body of Pius IX was being transferred in solemn procession to the Church of St. Lorenzo, its permanent resting place, the anticlericals created quite a disturbance, and some ruffians threatened to throw the body into the Tiber. Who knows but that these ruffians were emissaries of the Jesuits? The whole affair greatly pleased the intransigent party, because it furnished them the occasion of rising to the seat of power, where they have been ever since. The sudden death of Cardinal Jacobini—very opportune—brought to the helm of State Cardinal Rampolla, the young and able leader of the intransigent party. Thus in a little more than three years the platform of the new pope's election was entirely abandoned and Leo XIII was openly committed to the most obstinate irreconciliation and illiberalism. He had now arrived at the natural and logical result of his Jesuitical education and training.

The policy of Leo XIII has been merely to avoid open conflict. Hence his reign, as to positive facts tending to good, has been a complete delusion. The difference between Pius IX and his successor is simply in the methods employed. Those of Leo XIII have been more bland and hence more dangerous. In Italy his chief aim has been not to give occasion to the government to make the situation more difficult. Hence his instructions to the Catholic press have been, not to attack the persons in power, but to criticise and censure their doings. Several times, to their own hurt, those representing the civil authority have held out the olive branch and have sought reconciliation with the Vatican, but after months of bland encouragements, during which time the Jesuits were undermining the credit of the Italian government both at home and abroad, the papacy would reply, "We are not seeking reconciliation. If you want it, the only condition is the restoration of Rome to the pope." In his first letter to the powers Leo XIII declared that he proposed to cause all dissensions actually existing between the Vatican and the respective governments to cease. His letter to Emperor William I was memorable, and Bismarck took advantage of it to promote the interests of Germany as against France and Italy. But even Bismarck was

not wise enough to play at diplomacy with the Jesuits. He did best for his country when he pursued a decisive course of opposition to their intrigues, and not when he asked their help for concessions granted. The apparent good will of the pope to Germany displeased France and, as a result, laws were enacted hostile to the Church. Nevertheless Leo XIII counseled patience and finally recognized as legal and legitimate the French republic. Of course the royalists know that at heart the pope is their friend and ally, and that his acceptance of the republic is only in appearance. Many things the pope reserves "*in petto*." While he publicly declares in favor of the republic the Jesuits, with his knowledge, are plotting secretly in favor of the Pretender. The Dreyfus case was an illustration of what the Jesuits are capable of doing. Here patriotism was the pretext and slavery to the Church the final object in view. In Austria-Hungary also the struggle has been fierce to obtain freedom from the tyranny of clericalism. The pope has been obstinate up to the last moment, as in the case of the law for civil marriage, yielding only when it was necessary to avoid utter disaster. Look, however, at the result of his intrigues—utter confusion and threatened dismemberment of the nation. In Spain the pope apparently supports the young king and the queen regent, but is ready at any moment to abandon them and fall in with Don Carlos if it will serve his purpose. The troubles, too, in Belgium are the direct result of the political intrigues of the clericals. "The papacy is fast becoming an electoral machine for all nations."

The pope addressed himself with rare ability to the task of improving his relations with all the powers and of pushing to the front the political interests of the Vatican. To win political favor and reestablish diplomatic relations with Russia he sacrificed Poland, and to gain a point in England he practically decided against Ireland. It was Leo XIII, too, who sent first Satolli and then Martinelli as papal ablegates to the United States, pretending at first to favor a certain liberalism professed by Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishops Ireland and Kean, and then at the opportune moment flatly condemning everything that is American in sentiment or policy. The liberal press of Italy either laughed at the ridiculous position of Arch-

bishop Ireland or had leading articles proving his lack of character because of his sycophant letter of submission to the papal decision. It was a moment when one felt ashamed that a man who had been heralded in all the papers of Europe as a type of American independence and as a friend of the President should so dishonor us before the civilized world. Romanism will certainly do for the American race what it has done for the Latin race, if it has a chance. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. The Vatican is continually boasting of the growth of the Church in the United States, of the founding in every State of the religious orders, of the erection of buildings for monasteries and convents, and of the glorious future of the Church in America under the prudent teachings of the Jesuits. Thus, through diplomacy, Leo XIII has placed himself among the potentates of this world, saying, "Behold the peacemaking pope you desired." He is even on friendly terms with the sultan of Turkey, and did not say a word against the massacres of the Armenians lest he should disturb pleasant existing relations.

Having put himself in favorable relations with the governments, the pope next turned his attention to the people. The people had begun to murmur that the papacy was conceding everything to the powerful and rich, and nothing to them. Hence something must be done for the people. In Italy the clerical party created among the people a current hostile to the actual government. The pope, approving the plans of the clericals, gave his blessing to their conventions, societies, cooperative associations, rural banks, and numerous publications, all professedly in the interest of the working, suffering people. All was done, however, with one end in view, namely, the political advantage of the papacy as against the existing government. This agitation has gone on with increasing force, and some of its fruits have already been seen. During the trials for the insurrections and riots which occurred last year at Milan, Naples, and elsewhere, it was proved beyond all doubt that the chief instigators of the whole sad drama were the clericals, with the full knowledge and consent of the Vatican. It was a politico-religious rebellion, worked up in obedience to the pope's address to the Italian people: "It is high

time that we go down into the field and fight courageously against the enemies of God and of the Church."

The most noteworthy fact is the opposition of the Vatican to the House of Savoy as representing the unity of Italy. Catholic sovereigns are forbidden to come to Rome unless they will first do homage to the pope, while non-Catholic sovereigns must observe a certain etiquette which virtually ignores the existence of the Quirinal court. The Vatican seems to reason thus: Either the dynasty in a moment of trouble will come to terms, leaving Rome, or, the successors, whoever they may be, if they wish to continue, must come to an understanding with the papacy. To this persistent agitation on the part of the clericals the Italian government has never opposed a decisive action. First, the Italians have conceded to the pope too many special privileges; and then, either because of fear or for prudential reasons, they have allowed the clerical party too much liberty in their disloyal work of undermining the very existence of the State. There is no nation in the world where organized rebellion has been so tolerated as in Italy. It is difficult, however, to say whether the Jesuits have accomplished most by their open rebellion or by the dissensions and divisions they have caused by their intrigues in the liberal party. If the government utters a word of reproof, or passes a law for self-preservation, then the whole world is made to resound with the cry of "persecuting the Church." The pope has never officially recognized the privileges granted him by the State, and yet he has taken and does take every possible advantage of these privileges to damage the State. Victor Emmanuel should have entered Rome on the condition that he alone was to be king. When, a year ago, we had the honor of an interview with King Humbert, we told him frankly that we believed there should be in Rome but one king. We believe that the whole civilized world would applaud, admire, and approve him in asserting his right to the undivided loyalty of his subjects. This is the only solution of the question, and the sooner it is put to the test the better it will be for Italy and for the world at large. The storm center and war center of this world is in the Vatican palace, amid the conscienceless intrigues of the Jesuits.

In the other States the question was yet even more serious for the Vatican, because the opposition of the people meant a diminution of Peter's pence. Hence the pope, by a series of bold acts, produced quite an impression on the popular fancy, now addressing the bishops, now the clergy, and finally the people of different nations on the social questions of the day. The encyclicals treated of questions which interested the people at large, and the name of Leo XIII was on the lips of all. The Vatican press and the well subsidized *liberal* press called attention to the great, wise, and progressive pope, who was fully awake to the interests of modern times, and all at once Leo XIII, the personification of absolutism, became popular. The people thought for the moment that they had found in him a friend and deliverer. On the eve of important elections governments appealed to him to speak a word to the people, for which they had to pay dearly in new concessions. This popular movement produced, however, a reaction against the papacy on the part of the aristocracy and of the rich, who after all are the largest contributors to the Vatican coffers. Hence the pope must needs calm their fears by telling them that they must not interpret him too literally, and by assuring them that he was still their loyal friend. In addressing a friendly word to the people he was simply aiming at the general good of the Roman see and of Catholic society. Impressed by the rapid development in the Church of the so-called Christian socialist movement, he has now nominated a commission, at the head of which is Cardinal Massella (Jesuit), to study how to arrest the progress of these new ideas so contrary to the doctrines of the Holy Church. The one end and aim has been the prestige, grandeur, and glory of the Roman pontiff. The Vatican has entirely forgotten that the Church should have a religious end in view. It is now thoroughly political, and nothing else but political. The policy of Leo XIII has been to profess liberalism and to pretend to yield only that he might get his lever on the fulcrum so as to move the world backward. The final result of his policy everywhere and in every case has been reactionary.

A few months ago we read the following note in one of the leading American journals: "A group known as the German-

Austrian-Quirinalists group have been making ready for some time past to elect a successor to Leo XIII a pope of bigoted reactionary tendencies who will break with the democratic republican and progressive tendencies to which the present pope has allied himself. This scheme, it is said, has come to the knowledge of Leo XIII, who has accordingly decided to create twelve cardinals of his own way of thinking, who will preserve in a new pontificate the liberal policy which he has inaugurated." Then the editor adds, "There are many facts which seem to confirm this report." O, the credulity of the American people! The Jesuits knew that the creation of twelve cardinals at one time, nearly all Italians, would make something of a sensation; hence the public must be prepared by the assertion of a plausible reason. Twelve cardinals were created of the pope's own way of thinking, but every one of them reactionary, like himself.

During his reign Leo XIII has created a college of cardinals with perhaps one or two exceptions entirely favorable to himself and to his reactionary policy. There is no counting, however, on the sincerity of their professed devotion when it comes to a question of personal interest. They are distrustful of each other, and do not know each other's intimate thoughts and feelings. All the bishops, too, with few exceptions, are now favorable to the Vatican as against the Quirinal. Some of them at the chief centers, like Ferrari at Milan, Svampa at Bologna, and Mistrangelo at Florence, are of the warlike type; not priests, but political agitators. Publicly the *Curia* may pretend to instruct the bishops to live in harmony with the powers that be, but secretly a bishop before he is appointed must give positive evidence that he is a rebel against the actual government. The parish priests are the mere creatures of the bishops, to whom they must yield absolute obedience.

The bishops, too, have reformed the seminaries so that all the young men who come from them are already inoculated with the virus of hatred against Italy and her liberal institutions. For the laymen there have been organized commercial and agricultural banks, mutual aid associations, restaurants, clubs, and the like. By an extensive organization the people are bound to the politico-ecclesiastical machine,

to which they must yield absolute obedience. The Vatican virtually manages in Rome five of the leading banks, and through these a large part of the trade in the city. It has also a controlling interest in the stocks of eight of the monopolies of the city, such as the water company and the gas company, and even a predominating influence in the National Bank itself. Then there are those who look to the Vatican for their pompous titles, for their position in society, and for their daily bread—that long line from pope to cardinal and from cardinal to all the minor offices and their dependents down to the shopkeepers, families and individuals—all bound together by the ties of interest. Again, there are the schools which the clericals control, from the crèche to the university. Monks and nuns of all the so-called religious orders have come into Italy from all parts of the world. These have their sources of supply in the countries from which they have come; hence rivers of money are flowing into the Vatican from all nations.

In the conclave of 1878 there was a desire for the return of peace which had been disturbed by the affairs in Italy and by their consequent reaction on the other powers. The powers feared a ferment in the Catholic nations which threatened to break forth in violence both for and against the papacy. To-day these powers are bound to the papacy by a chain of political interests, and the papal diplomacy is ever intent on maintaining and rendering more secure these bonds. Hence these different governments will be interested in the coming election of a new pope, and will exert all their influence through their respective cardinals and ambassadors. Both the Italian and non-Italian cardinals are agreed that the future pope must be an Italian. This, they say, is the only way to avoid difficulties both in and out of Italy. How could a foreigner remain in the Vatican surrounded by a civil and ecclesiastical court which he does not know and by which neither he nor his plans could be easily understood? He would, indeed, be a prisoner, except he should surround himself by persons of his own nationality. But the presence of a foreign court in Rome would create another state of things unendurable to the Italian cardinals who are now masters of the situation. Imagine the jealousies, frictions, and offended interests! When Leo

XIII gathered about him at first four or five trusted friends from Perugia there was no end of talk. What would happen if a foreign pope should bring to Rome a foreign court? It is claimed also that an Italian will be elected to avoid the jealousies that might arise between other nationalities. Though Italian by birth he must be anti-Italian in sentiment, for all are now agreed not to favor a reconciliation with the Italian government, since they fear that if this should come to pass the Church would lose her prestige in the political world. The question of temporal power must be agitated even if it involves the whole world in continual war. The last word from the pope is that there can be no reconciliation except on the restitution of Rome.

The weakness of Italy to-day, like that of other nations, is the lack of a definite and resolute attitude against the pretensions of the papacy. The Italian government has been zealous in trying to counteract the work of the socialists and of the extreme radicals, while it has left in peace the real subverters of the nation who are preparing a revolution in secret, making use of the cross for their diabolical propaganda, which threatens the nation's existence. The pope is a pretender to a lost throne, and as such ought not to be allowed to remain in the country any more than his contemporaries, the Bourbons. This weakness may some day cost King Humbert his crown and the House of Savoy the throne of Italy, but the pope will never again be reinstated as a temporal ruler. The radical victories in the last elections in the north, especially at Milan and Turin, are very significant. It is the new star of hope. The people have broken with the clericals and are rising into power. Their present exaggerated ideas will moderate with time. We can trust them to settle the question. They know the pope too well to ever make him again their king. They know with Prince Metternich that "a liberal pope is an impossibility."

William Burt.

Art. VI.—THE ORDER OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

The duty of public worship carries with it the propriety of having a generally understood or formally fixed order of service. Following this natural principle all Churches have some order for public worship. Sometimes these orders are extremely simple, while in other instances they are exceedingly elaborate. Even the Society of Friends has at least the outline of an order, with a time for beginning the worship, an understanding as to what is to be or may be done, and a time for ending, when the heads of the meeting shake hands and thus give the signal for the worship to cease and the Friends to disperse. Probably there has never been a period in the history of the Christian Church, even in the very early days, when there have not been recognized orders for the public service fixed by usage, by legal enactment of the Church itself, or by the command or example of individuals in authority.

All of these are interesting as studies of ecclesiastical conditions, though to the Protestant mind many of them are absolutely absurd and unscriptural, when in different periods they reflect the error or corruption which had entered various sections of the Church. Protestantism denies that the ancient liturgies or that any humanly produced liturgy is binding at all times and everywhere, but holds that "rites and ceremonies," as our Article of Religion declares, "may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word." After the Reformation the Protestant bodies made a liberal use of this liberty. As in the case of others, the Protestant Reformed Church of England revised and added to the forms of service and, after various revisions and fluctuations covering more than a century, produced the *Book of Common Prayer* with which the early Methodists were generally familiar; for, while Wesley had a brief form of service for the field meetings, he assumed that the members of his societies generally attended the full services of the national Church.

Wesley, however, was not satisfied with the *Book of Com-*

mon Prayer in every particular, and so in course of time revised it and in 1784 published the revision for the use of his followers in the United States. This revised service book he called *The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America. With other Occasional Services.* It provided a Morning Prayer and an Evening Prayer for the Sabbath day and a Litany to be used on Wednesdays and Fridays, while the other services included Ordination Services, Baptismal and Communion Services, and all other forms of service which Wesley deemed necessary for a complete Church. The radical changes he made in the *Book of Common Prayer* showed what kind of a reform he intended in doctrine and polity, and what kind of a Church he intended American Methodism to be. This *Sunday Service* was adopted by the Methodist Episcopal Church in the organizing Conference of December, 1784, and the Book of Discipline issued in 1785 speaks of "our liturgy," as do later Disciplines. The service began to be used at once, and the use continued for some years, but gradually the service book fell into disuse. There were various causes which practically retired the *Sunday Service.* There were in the Church some who disliked formal services. Probably others, retaining the antagonistic spirit of the Revolution, disliked anything that had an English tinge. In addition, other facts had their influence. One practical difficulty was the encroachment of other services. Thus, the love feast might extend into the time for the regular preaching service and so lead to the omission of the Morning Prayer from time to time. But one of the most potent causes must have been the difficulty of securing books enough and bringing them into general use in widely scattered communities, for it is to be remembered that the books were printed beyond the sea while many of the churches were back in the wilderness. Then the frequent changing of ministers, with their different tastes and training, militated against the regular use of the service book. The mutilation and destruction of books during the course of years may also have had something to do with the result. Whatever may have been the cause, it is plain that by the year 1792 the *Sunday Service* book had dropped into disuse, or at least was not generally used. It is

also quite clear that there was no well-settled usage throughout the denomination. The result was that the General Conference of 1792, appreciating the desire for uniformity, and for the purpose of bringing about a uniform order of public worship, adopted a new section which appeared in the Book of Discipline, as follows:

SECTION XXIII. Of Public Worship.

Question. What directions shall be given for the establishment of uniformity in public worship amongst us on the Lord's Day?

Answer. 1. Let the morning service consist of singing, prayer, the reading of a chapter out of the Old Testament, and another out of the New, and preaching.

2. Let the afternoon service consist of singing, prayer, the reading of one chapter out of the Bible, and preaching.

3. Let the evening service consist of singing, prayer, and preaching.

4. But on the days of administering the Lord's Supper, the two chapters in the morning service may be omitted.

5. Let the Society be met, wherever it is practicable, on the Sabbath day.

This enactment reveals the fact that there was great irregularity in the matter, as well as the order, of public worship. The object of the regulation was to establish uniformity, implying the fact that the Church desired and expected a uniform service. The law, however, indicates the several items which should be embraced in the service, more than it does the exact order, though the general order is suggested by the succession of the items. The service was to have singing, prayer, the reading of the Scriptures, and preaching, and doubtless the intention was that they should come in that general order. But it is probable, and even certain, that there were more hymns sung and more prayers offered than are specified in the law, and it is just as certain that this did not include every item that was generally recognized. For example, there can be no doubt that every service concluded with a benediction, though that is not mentioned in the act. In fact, it was the simple framework of an order; but, simple as it was, it was deemed better than the uncertain forms that had prevailed.

It will be noticed that provision is made for three preaching services on the Lord's Day. On the morning when the

communion was celebrated the chapter from the Old Testament and the chapter from the New might be omitted, for when the Lord's Supper was ministered there was to be used a formal communion service in addition to the usual order for the mornings of the Lord's Day. This service was taken from Wesley's *Sunday Service*, and it and all the "other Occasional Services" in that service book were, by the same General Conference, printed in the Discipline of 1792 as a new section, entitled "Sacramental Services, etc." In later years they were referred to as "The Ritual."

The order of service prescribed in 1792 stood in substance down to 1888, nearly a whole century. It was modified, however, in some particulars. The old form "amongst us" was changed to "among us," a mere verbal change made about 1824. In 1804 the order for the afternoon was altered so that, instead of "one chapter," it was made to read, "the reading of one or two chapters out of the Bible." In 1864, in the order for the morning service the word "chapter" was changed to "lesson," so that the lesson might be more or less than a chapter, and the words "out of" were changed to "from," so that it read, "the reading of a lesson from the Old Testament and another from the New." In the same year the directions for the afternoon and evening services were consolidated and modified so as to read, "II. Let the afternoon or evening service consist of singing, prayer, the reading of one or two Scripture lessons, and preaching;" and at the same time the fourth answer was changed so that it read, "III. On the days of administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper the reading of the Scripture lessons may be omitted." In 1824 a new paragraph was added, as follows: "In administering the ordinances and in the burial of the dead let our form of Discipline invariably be used. Let the Lord's Prayer also be used on all occasions of public worship in concluding the first prayer, and the apostolic benediction in dismissing the congregation." In 1864 the word "ordinances" was changed to "sacraments;" the word "Ritual" was substituted for "Discipline;" the injunction as to the use of the Lord's Prayer had added to it, "the congregation being exhorted to join in the audible repetition;" to this there was added, "Let a doxology be sung at the conclu-

sion of each service;" while after the words "apostolic benediction" were added "be invariably used," so that in 1864 the paragraph read:

IV. In administering the sacraments, and in the burial of the dead, let our form of Ritual invariably be used. Let the Lord's Prayer also be used on all occasions of public worship in concluding the first prayer, the congregation being exhorted to join in its audible repetition. Let a doxology be sung at the conclusion of each service, and the apostolic benediction be invariably used in dismissing the congregation.

In 1864 another paragraph was inserted, as follows: "5. Let the people be earnestly exhorted to join in all these acts of worship, and especially to respond to the prayers of our Ritual." These additions were to make more complete and specific the earlier regulations, and indicate an effort to secure a more perfect uniformity. In passing, it is worthy of remark that in this year, 1864, very many extensive and important alterations were made in the "Ritual." In 1868 the General Conference adopted the following: "Our people should be urged to take part in the public worship of God, first, in singing; secondly, in prayer, in the scriptural attitude of kneeling, by the repetition of the Lord's Prayer." In 1872 the ideas herein contained appear in the Discipline in combination with the fifth answer of 1864, so as to make that paragraph read. "Let the people be earnestly exhorted to take part in the public worship of God, first, in singing; secondly, in prayer, in the scriptural attitude of kneeling, by the repetition of the Lord's Prayer." In 1872 the form of question and answer was taken out of the section on "Public Worship," and the section opened with these words: "For the establishment of uniformity in public worship among us on the Lord's Day, I. Let the morning service," etc. The requirement in 1872, therefore, provided that in every preaching service there should be singing; prayer, closing with the Lord's Prayer, which the people were to repeat, the people kneeling during all the prayers; the reading of the Scriptures, two lessons in the morning and one or two lessons therefrom in the afternoon or evening service; the sermon; the singing of a doxology at the close of each service; and, at the dismissal of the congregation, the pronouncing of the apostolic benediction.

Doubtless in the practice of the Church there were some variations. Certainly, the words "singing" and "prayer" were not understood to mean only one hymn and only one prayer. As a matter of fact, there were usually three hymns sung, one at the opening, one after the reading of the lessons and before the sermon, and one subsequently to the delivery of the discourse, while there was a second prayer after the preaching. So custom was filling up the outline presented in the law of the Church. The law indicated that certain things must be done, but did not prohibit that which, though not specified in the enactment, was still in harmony with the letter and spirit of the law. During the ensuing sixteen years there was a marked and growing diversity in the services, and particularly in matters not definitely specified in the law, and this condition led to a new enactment in 1888. At the General Conference of that year a rather elaborate order of service was reported by the committee to which the subject was referred. This, however, was rejected, and the following substitute was inserted after the old introduction, "In order to establish uniformity in public worship among us on the Lord's Day:"

Let the morning service be ordered, as far as possible, in the following manner: 1. Singing one of the hymns of our hymn book, the people standing. 2. Prayer, concluding with the Lord's Prayer repeated audibly by the congregation, the minister and people kneeling. 3. The reading of a lesson from the Old Testament, and another from the New, either of which may be read responsively. 4. Collection. 5. Singing another of our hymns, the people sitting. 6. Preaching. 7. A short prayer for a blessing on the word. 8. Singing, closing with a doxology, the people standing. 9. The pronouncing of the apostolic benediction.

Two other paragraphs were at the same time changed to read as follows:

§ 2. Let the afternoon or evening service follow the same order, except that either of the Scripture lessons may be omitted.

§ 3. At the service during which the sacraments are administered any of the items of the preceding order may be omitted except singing, prayer, and the apostolic benediction.

This enactment fixed the order of succession for the several items, gave specific directions as to a number of details, recognized the principle of responsive readings, and for the first time fixed a place for the offerings. It gave more precision

and dignity to the afternoon or evening service, making it the same as the morning, only that one lesson might be omitted. The third paragraph became liberal in the extreme. The old law said, "On the days of administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper the reading of the Scripture lessons may be omitted." This required the sermon, even when the sacraments were ministered. The new regulation permitted the omission of everything except "singing, prayer, and the apostolic benediction," which was practically permission to omit the preaching service and have merely the communion. A question might be raised as to the propriety of this, for the preaching should not be set aside, but the intention probably was to provide for instances where the number of communicants was very large. In this connection another change appears in the Discipline of 1888. The change is in the paragraph enacted in 1824 and somewhat modified in 1864 so that it then read: "In administering the sacraments, and in the burial of the dead, let our form of Ritual invariably be used," etc. The Discipline of 1888 omitted all that followed the words "invariably be used." That eliminated the following: "Let the Lord's Prayer also be used on all occasions of public worship in concluding the first prayer, the congregation being exhorted to join in its audible repetition. Let a doxology be sung at the conclusion of each service, and the apostolic benediction invariably be used in dismissing the congregation."

In the General Conference of 1892 a number of suggestions in regard to the order of service were referred to committees, but action was not taken in the Conference. One favored "simplicity and brevity in religious services;" another, two forms, either of which might be used, according to the preference of the local church. In the Discipline of 1892 the old heading "Public Worship" is changed to "Order of Public Worship," an editorial alteration but an improvement. Other verbal alterations are found in the body of the "Order of Public Worship," and these likewise are apparently the work of the editorial committee. Instead of "Let the morning service be ordered, as far as possible, in the following manner," this Discipline has, "As far as possible the following shall be the Order of the Morning Service;" instead of "Singing one

of the hymns of our hymn book," we have, "Singing from our Hymnal;" instead of "The reading of a lesson," we have, "Reading of Lessons;" instead of "Singing another of our hymns," we have, "Singing from the Hymnal;" instead of "Preaching," we have, "The Sermon;" instead of "A short prayer," we have, "Short Prayer;" and instead of "The pronouncing of the apostolic benediction," we have, "The Apostolic Benediction." These verbal changes do not modify any point which was contained in the order of 1888, for the order is precisely the same with the exception of mere variations in phraseology.

In 1896 the General Conference adopted a new Order of Public Worship, following the old introductory declaration, "In order to establish uniformity in public worship among us on the Lord's Day." This revision is found in ¶ 56 of the present Discipline. It will be observed that the essential parts of the order are the same as the order of 1888 and 1892; that is to say, the new order includes the same items indicated by "Singing," "Prayer," "Lessons," "Collection," "Sermon," "Doxology," and "Apostolic Benediction." But in connection with these there are modifications of more or less significance. "Our *Hymnal*" becomes "the *Hymnal*," which of course means the same thing, and, while it is perhaps more dignified, gives emphasis to "the *Hymnal*" of all hymnals. "The Lord's Prayer repeated audibly by the congregation" is modified so as to read, "Repeated audibly by all," as though the minister also was to be reminded of his duty to speak distinctly. "The minister and people kneeling" becomes "both minister and people kneeling," which is a minor variation, but perhaps makes the concerted action more emphatic. The single paragraph directing the "reading of lessons, one from the Old Testament and another from the New, either of which may be read responsively," is now divided into two parts, and these parts are separated, so that now they appear as two items: first, "Lesson from the Old Testament, which, if from the Psalms, may be read responsively;" and, secondly, a "Lesson from the New Testament." In this connection an important change is noticeable. The old form permitted any lesson, either from the Old or the New Testament, to be read

responsively; but the new order limits the responsive reading to the lesson from the Old Testament, and then only when the selection is from the Psalms. The taking of the offerings has now associated with it the making of announcements, and the form reads, "Collection and Notices." The direction for the singing of the second hymn in 1892 had "the people sitting;" but in the new order we have "the people standing," so that the congregation is to stand during the singing of all the hymns. Then, the old order had "closing with a doxology," while the new form has "closing with the doxology"—the change to the definite article, "the doxology," evidently indicating the doxology of the same meter as the closing hymn which it immediately follows, so that there shall be no break in the music. The greatest changes are the bracketed insertions referring to the voluntary, the Apostles' Creed, the anthem, and the *Gloria Patri*. There was nothing especially new about these when introduced in 1896, for they had already been widely used in the churches of the denomination. The newness is merely in their insertion in the formally authorized Order of Public Worship. The Creed belonged to the old *Sunday Service*, and had ever appeared in the baptismal service, while the musical part was generally familiar.

That this is a perfect order of public worship we do not contend. Indeed, it is just possible that it might be improved in some points. Possibly it might be made more explicit in some particulars. Some think it should be made more positive in its injunctions, while others probably would prefer more latitude. Possibly a better word could be substituted for "Collection." The law indicates the alternate reading of a scriptural selection by the minister and the congregation. This exercise gives a wholesome variety to the service, interests the people by giving them something to do, and is particularly valuable, for it is to be feared it is the only time many of the people ever read any portion of the sacred word. The order of 1896 very properly limits the responsive reading to a selection from the Psalms, for this book is best fitted for alternate reading; indeed, in view of its construction, as well as its contents, it may be said that it is the only book in the Bible suitable for the purpose. Yet at this point the order

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might be improved. If there is to be responsive reading at all, it should be the order from Sabbath to Sabbath; but the wording of the order of 1896 would seem to permit responsive reading one Lord's Day and prohibit such reading the next Lord's Day. It is as follows: "Lesson from the Old Testament, which, if from the Psalms, may be read responsively." According to this, when the lesson is from some other book of the Old Testament there would be no responsive reading; and if there was responsive reading from the Psalms at every service, then the people would never hear any selection from the other books of the Old Testament. This would be a mistake, since the other books are profitable for instruction, and the pulpit readings for a year should give a comprehensive view of the contents of the entire Bible. There is a remedy for this. The Church should use the Psalter regularly, and at the same time it should hear readings from other Old Testament books. The way to do this is to make the reading of a selection from the Psalms an independent part of the service. The Psalter contains the great liturgy of God's ancient Church; but it is a devotional book for all time, and, therefore, belongs to the section of worship which should be shared by the people, as well as the minister, since they both join in it. With the Psalm as an independent part of worship the regular first lesson could then be taken from any book of the Old Testament. This need not add materially to the length of the service, while it would add greatly to its profitableness. We need to honor God's word more than is sometimes done; and we honor it when we give it a prominent place in the service, and read it as though we reverenced it, and pronounce it so as to make the meaning plain and the teachings impressive. Too many ministers often weaken and injure their afternoon or evening services by the omission of Scripture readings. The law suggests two lessons, and makes one obligatory; and, therefore, it is not well for a minister to make so little account of his evening service as to discard the Scripture reading. If he thus slights the service it can hardly be expected that the people will esteem it very highly. Dignity is given to it by the proper reading of the sacred word, for God's word is better than man's.

It may be asked whether the "Order of Public Worship" is obligatory. In the first place it was enacted by the representative body of the Church, which body has a right to command obedience on the part of its ministers and members. This being so, the answer to the query will depend upon the nature of the act, that is to say, whether it is directly or indirectly mandatory. It is plain that the intention was to secure a uniform observance. The law says: "In order to establish uniformity in public worship among us on the Lord's Day." This shows that the purpose was to bring about the same practice in all the churches. It is true that the Discipline goes on to say, "We earnestly recommend the following order of morning service." It may be said that to "earnestly recommend" is not to command. That may be so in some relations, but in others an earnest recommendation is equivalent to a command, if its performance be practicable. Thus is it with the expressed wish of a parent. So when the governing power in a Church reveals its desire its earnest recommendation should have the force of a command if it be reasonably possible to obey. The act states that the "parts inclosed in brackets may be omitted." This being so, it would follow that there was no permission to omit the parts not inclosed in brackets. How far the language allows variation as to some details may be an open question. Even a fairly rigid constructionist might hold that as long as the general form is observed there might be the insertion of something not specified in the order of service. Having used all called for by the order, he might not hesitate to introduce a hymn, an anthem, an organ voluntary, or some other exercise not out of harmony with the spirit and letter of the law. The fair interpretation is that the order is what the General Conference wants and expects the Church to observe, but that, at the same time, the wording is not so ironclad that it will not bend where there is a real necessity. In regard to the sacramental and other formal services of the Church there can be no doubt as to the mandatory character of the law. The slighting of the communion service especially is to be deprecated. As to the duty to conform to the regulations and recommendations of the supreme legislative body of the Church it may be well

to cite Article of Religion XXII, "Of the Rites and Ceremonies of Churches." It says, "Whosoever, through his private judgment, willingly and purposely doth openly break the rites and ceremonies of the Church to which he belongs, which are not repugnant to the word of God, and are ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that others may fear to do the like), as one that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and woundeth the consciences of weak brethren."

That there is need for some order of service will be admitted by all thoughtful persons. Even some who declare against orderliness are usually the greatest sticklers for some form. Let a thing be done in a way to which they have not been accustomed and they will quickly cry out in protest. It is not according to the order with which they are familiar. As some order is necessary, the real question is as to what the order should be. In answering this inquiry it is to be remembered that the purpose of an order of public worship is to make sure that all that is necessary or desirable in such a service shall be included, and that these parts shall come in a proper and logical order, so that there shall be a common understanding as to the succession of the different parts. Liturgical differences come mainly from different conceptions of the parts and the true purpose of such a service. The Church which makes the sermon the main thing is likely to have a comparatively brief and simple form of worship, so as to give the discourse the greater share of the time; the Church which makes the sermon a matter of minor importance will probably have an elaborate service in which the sermon or sermonette will play a very small part; and the Church which believes in the sacramentarian idea and thinks the sacrifice should be surrounded by an impressive and gorgeous ceremonial will develop something like the mass of the Roman Church. To the average Protestant the mummery of the Roman Church—no matter what may be the suggestiveness of the symbols—can have little or no attraction. Little better is the ornate and intricate forms of high churchism, in which there seems to be a reversal to Romish practices. Especially is this true in reference to the absurd practice of intoning the service, a silly pro-

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cedure which is neither speaking nor singing. In constructing an order of service, therefore, it is necessary to keep in mind the exact purpose of such a service. Speaking generally, it may be said that the object of a public religious service is twofold: first, to aid the congregation in worship, and, second, to impart religious truth. Perhaps to these should be added the celebration of the sacraments and the observance of the other ordinances of the Church. An ordinary service naturally divides itself into two parts, worship and instruction, though both elements appear in both sections—worship, however, preponderating in the first and instruction preponderating in the second, more particularly in the sermon.

Certain principles commend themselves to every intelligent thinker when considering what is the proper form. We note a few: First, the service should contain all the elements that ought to be found in such a service, especially prayer, praise, the reading of the Scriptures, the sermon, and whatever else naturally belongs to a full scriptural service. Second, the order of arrangement should be simple, natural, and logical; or, in other words, it should be such as will naturally and easily lead the mind from the first item to that which immediately follows, and so on to the end. Third, this order should be constructed on the principle of a climax, ascending from the lower to the higher. Hence it is hardly appropriate to begin with such an outburst as an exultant doxology. The opening might be a call to worship, a confession, or some such recognition or adoration of God as would be appropriate for a humble or penitent sinner who approaches to worship or present his petition, while the service would probably close with a doxology full of praise for the blessings received. Fourth, there should be a proper balance preserved between the several sections of the service, so that one will not unduly limit or trespass upon the time needed by the others. Fifth, there should be abundant opportunity for extemporary prayer. The Church has certain fixed forms of prayer in certain services, and there is nothing wrong in this, for Jesus himself has given us a permanent form; but in the general service there should be abundant opportunity for extemporaneous prayer that may touch the fresh needs of the hour. Sixth, the form

of service should be sufficiently fixed to maintain at least a fair degree of denominational uniformity, so that a member would know what to expect wherever he went; yet, at the same time, the order should be so flexible that it could be varied in minor matters when circumstances should indicate the necessity of some modification, by insertion or omission to meet the legitimate requirements of the occasion. These variations, however, would be exceptional. It is necessary to have some order of public worship, for no order to guide ministers and people leads to confusion and disorderliness of service instead of the orderliness which should characterize public worship. There is a judicious mean between the one extreme of a too ornate and overloaded liturgy and the other extreme of one so bald that, in its barrenness and coldness, it lacks the essential features of a scriptural and well-balanced service and therefore is measurably unprofitable. There is, however, something more important than a form of worship, and that is the fact of worship. The form has its value, but the spirit is more greatly needed. An order of worship is merely the skeleton. The skeleton is necessary, but it should be clothed upon the living body. Whatever may be the form, there must be the life. Where there is earnest spiritual life the Church can prosper with very little form. Where there is form without spiritual vitality the Church must fail.

T. B. Neely

Art. VII.—THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE DREYFUS *AFFAIRE.*

The general order of the French minister of war has announced to the army that the Dreyfus "incident is closed." But it may be doubted whether the matter can be terminated by order, or the pacification of minds be attained by any step short of full and final justice. Amid the storm of passion it has been a relief at times to hearken to the scattered voices appealing for a quieter consideration of the issue. Especially during the weary weeks when the shadows deepened over France as the unrighteous efforts of the generals drew nearer to success, those of us who followed the trial from near at hand found a measure of relief in studying the question under certain more general aspects. These permitted us to forget the while the haunting personal sufferings of the prisoner and the critical national interests at stake.

One of these calmer points of view was given by the psychological principles of which the case furnished so striking an illustration. The able editorial writers of the Paris *Temps* suggested this aspect of the matter in several articles, which, though they were written out of a literary rather than a technical acquaintance with psychology, brought clearly into view a number of the psychical laws which the leaders in the *affaire* were following in complete unconsciousness of the fact. The simplest of these laws was illustrated by the influence of the *idée maîtresse*, the controlling power exercised by preconceived opinions over the minds of a large majority of the parties to the case. That opinion should be biased, that witnesses should appear in whom this bias had colored the memory of actual occurrences and the interpretation of facts accurately reported —this was no novelty either in psychology or in legal practice. But the Dreyfus *affaire* had so taken hold of the thought of Frenchmen, their feelings concerning the matter had grown so intense, that this well-known principle received fuller and more striking exemplification than the world is often permitted to behold. A jealous husband had been known to describe the prisoner as unfit to wear his sword years before the treason

had been committed; a liveryman had hired him a horse to ride to the German maneuvers; in Berlin a traveling tradesman had listened to two generals, who most conveniently conversed in French, as they discussed this Dreyfus, who in Paris was busy in the service of his country's foes; another traveler had been shown at Potsdam the kaiser's apartment in a palace where the kaiser never resides, and there, though ignorant of the German language, had read a marginal note on a newspaper which proved the guilt of the accused; a captain had heard a confession which the highest court of appeal threw out, although generals and ministers of war held it conclusive evidence; finally, the president of the court-martial produces, rather than summons, toward the close of the trial, a miserable unbalanced alien who brings with him enough of "proof" to condemn, not merely Dreyfus, but a dozen traitors in a row.

These calumnies were not in every case deliberate falsehoods. In all probability the majority of the slanders rested on a certain basis of fact. Bias and malice had made the stories grow; for no better proof could be demanded than that which is furnished in the records of this case for the further psychological law that feeling exercises a controlling influence over the processes of knowledge and belief. But in some instances, at least, the development of the modicum of fact into the completed tale can be traced with such exactness that the genesis of the legend is explained without the assumption of unworthy motives on the part of the witnesses. Thus, to take the crucial example instanced by the writer quoted above, the facts of the interview in 1894 between the brothers of Dreyfus and Colonel Sandherr evidently gave ground for the false interpretation put upon it by Sandherr's friend who reported it to the court. Nothing but the written memorandum in the deceased officer's own hand enabled the defense to show that Matthieu Dreyfus's appeal for help and his offer to sacrifice his fortune in his brother's behalf had been magnified by Sandherr's hearers into an attempt to corrupt an officer in high position by the proffer of a bribe. The original written evidence destroyed the oral report at second hand. But if this had been lacking the case of the prisoner would have been sadly damaged by the effect of an *idée maîtresse*."

A further, though less direct, illustration of the same law was shown in the reception given to such "evidence" by men of high intelligence. That General Mercier should cite as evidence a letter from a tailor in which "proof" against Dreyfus was followed by a request for a continuance of patronage is explicable on either one of several hypotheses, without recourse to the cruel suggestion of Zola that the ex-minister is past his mental prime. But that "*table d'hôte* stories," as the defense correctly termed them, should be counted worthy of grave judicial consideration, that they should be allowed to tell against the prisoner along with the analogous composite of exaggeration and malice produced by the officers from the ministry of war and the staff, that Frenchmen of unquestioned intellectual capacity, outside the army as within it, should found their conviction of guilt in part upon such "proofs" as these, and that the judges in an important case should give heed to them—this is an abnormal condition in which the psychologist no less than the moralist or the student of legal procedure finds instances of the principles of his science.

Back of this special bias, and forming the soil from which it sprang, was the widely spread spirit of suspicion in relation to all matters connected with the case. This aspect of the matter must be kept in mind if the *affaire* is to be understood either in its psychological or in its historical development. This, furthermore, explains certain of the obstacles that confronted the defense in its endeavor to obtain justice. "He is lost; he denies everything," was the cry of his opponents at the close of Dreyfus's interrogation in the opening session of the second court-martial. And at least one able English writer, with bias rather in favor of the accused than against him, adopted toward the end of the trial a similar conclusion. The lack of frankness common to his race, so this writer argued, prevented Dreyfus from admitting facts easily susceptible of proof. Thus he incurred his own exposure as a falsifier in his defense and facilitated the exaggeration of the facts which he had endeavored to conceal. For one, we must confess that the incident which is made the pretense for this conclusion—the question of Dreyfus's attendance at the German maneuvers near Mülhausen—does not appear to bear out the inference which

has been based upon it. But, whether true or false, it yields a striking example of the abnormal state of suspicion which afflicted the minds of men on both sides of this extraordinary case. It is entirely conceivable either that the prisoner thought too little of his chance meetings with German regiments on the march to mention them until he was driven into a corner by the tactics of his accusers, or that he may have feared to acknowledge a natural and innocent occurrence lest it should be twisted into a new "proof" of his guilt. For it would seem that a French officer must carefully avoid acquaintance with foreigners of his own profession or be prepared to find his sword in danger, if at any time a colorable charge of treason can be brought against him. Fortunately for Dreyfus, such acquaintance could only be asserted, not proved, even according to the standard of evidence adopted by the five judges at Rennes. If he had known a German fellow-officer, if he had attended a German field day—surely a useful thing for a French officer to do—it may be doubted whether he would have gained the two minority votes which saved him. That he did know more than his fellows of the territory around his home—become German through the conquest of 1870–71—that he took a special interest in the frontier to which his attention had been called by the circumstances of his early life as well as by the longing of his countrymen for revenge, that in general he was eager to inquire into the details of his professional work beyond the requirements of his superiors—these facts told heavily against his case. Esterhazy might long to see the Uhlans riding once more through the Arc de Triomphe and down the Avenue of the Champs Elysées, but he was protected by the general staff. Dreyfus had once asserted the surprising truth that the Deity, as conceived by the Jews, is God on both sides of the Rhine; therefore his lack of patriotism was evident, though his heart melted and his eyes ran tears when he caught sight of the tricolor from his cage on the Devil's Isle.

It is not necessary, however, to multiply illustrations of the abnormal suspicion in question. Of greater importance are the questions which this condition of the public mind suggest concerning the spirit of the French people. Here the case becomes a matter of collective rather than of individual psychology.

It may be some time again before the votaries of this inner branch of the science will have a better opportunity for studying the *rapport* of mind with mind in its exaggerated forms, for investigating the effects of class and party spirit, psychical phenomena of crowds and the peculiar characteristics of the mob-mind, especially as concerns the tendency of such common psychical developments to degenerate toward the level of the lower elements in the mass, if not to unchain the impulses which man retains along with the brute. But the question is broader even than the facts of life in common. It leads up to the problems of national and racial psychology, a department in which we have long been in possession of certain generalizations of a broad and floating kind, but where precise scientific determinations are so difficult to reach. Many a thinker, in view of these recent developments in France, has been asking himself the questions, Is it true, then, that the cruel suspiciousness ascribed to the French is in fact a mental characteristic of the nation? what difference in essence is there between the mingled suspicion and ferocity of the opponents of Dreyfus, not now to think of his inhuman jailers and their unspeakable work, and the spirit which animated the leaders of the Revolution and the Terror a century ago? Or, not to charge upon a nation the crimes of a part of its citizens, are not this readiness to believe in the guilt of a person charged with an offense, this suspiciousness which tortures innocent facts into proofs of crime, the cruelty with which vengeance rather than judgment is visited upon an offender thus convicted of a charge—are not these traits shown to be inherent in the national spirit by their repeated appearance at critical stages in the history of the people in recent times? It is clear, at least, that the defenders of an affirmative answer have gained a mass of fresh evidence in support of their contention from the miserable happenings of the last five years.

And a still deeper problem lingers in the background. It is recognized by all that the Gallic mind is clear and brilliant. But is it marked by thoroughness, by that persistent determination to penetrate to the heart of a question, by that patience in the verification of results, which have been shown by the history of modern thought to be of paramount necessity in the

quest after truth? Or, as it has been asserted, is it characteristic of French thought to leap to its conclusions attracted rather by a neat formula than by an inference that takes into account all the data in a case? Here, again, the destructive critic will find new materials for his argument in the history of the *affaire*. In particular, he will be able to maintain that the mental trait in question is revealed in the French by circumstances which call forth strong outbursts of emotion. It is less than thirty years since the mad cry for the march to Berlin was followed by the passionate demand for a scapegoat, who, as a convicted traitor, might be made to bear the blame of the national defeat. And now, whatever may have been the complete and ultimate motive for the monstrous procedure of the war office and the staff, it is evident that Dreyfus has been sacrificed in part to the panic caused by the belief that a foreign nation was in possession of secrets of the national defense, to racial prejudice against the Jews, even to individual dislike of the curt and "unsympathetic" bearing of the young artillery captain among his comrades. Hasty thought and uncontrolled emotions have contributed to the "moral Sedan" of this generation, as they cooperated in the physical disaster of the generation past.

Intellectual and moral factors, therefore, have mingled in the genesis of the *affaire*, and must alike be considered in its psychological explanation. The questions involved, moreover, are questions of national and racial, as well as of individual, psychology. From these, finally, there emerge problems of an historical and philosophical nature which imply profounder issues even than the phenomena of the mental life. For no attentive observer of recent events in France can repress the conviction that the history of the last few years gives fresh token of serious disorder in the organism of the nation. There are ill nations and there are nations moribund, as we were reminded by the premier of Great Britain during our Spanish conflict of a year ago. And the worst forms of national disease are those which, in the last analysis, are engendered by the neglect of moral law. For the principles of morality are as vital to the community as to the individual; nay, there is reason to consider them, at least in one aspect of

the matter, as most directly connected with the conditions of social health. Thus there is peculiar poignancy in the query raised of late by loyal Frenchmen, as well as by disinterested but observant foreigners, as to which of the above categories more exactly covers the present condition of France. France and the French spirit are indisputably laboring under serious trouble; and the situation appears more grave in view of the prolonged continuance of their abnormal state. It is now more than a hundred years since the revolutionary movement, in doing away with political and ecclesiastical corruption, broke down also the foundations of social order. A half century added to this period would hardly carry us back to the beginnings of the upheaval, which from that day to this, in spite of the many splendid achievements of the people, has prevented the recovery of political stability and a normal social development. During these generations of time, once more, there have been various outbreaks of the mob spirit which have left foul blots on the history of modern progress as exemplified in the French nation. And now the history of the Dreyfus case would seem to show that in many respects the national spirit has gained but little in intellectual balance, in emotional sobriety, in moral vigor, for all the long agony it has been compelled to endure.

Is it to be concluded, then, as it has been inferred by some, that French civilization is stricken with a mortal malady, and is the world to look for a national decline rather than recuperation from the disturbances of the past? He must needs know his France to the end who would venture a prediction concerning her future history, least of all a pessimistic prognosis of her fate. The student of her present situation will rather turn with sympathetic pleasure to those facts which give ground for a more hopeful outlook. For the spectacle of the nation prostrate before the enemies of justice, and but now regaining strength to make tardy and incomplete recompense to the victim of judicial error, has brought no pleasure to observers in other lands. On the contrary, with the exception of the traditional foes of France—and even in their case the feeling of contempt has been tempered by pity and regret—it has been sorrow that has mingled with repulsion, not rejoicing at the plight of a

great nation betrayed by the misdoing of her sons. Moved by such feelings, we may dwell with satisfaction on the grounds of hope for France rather than upon the elements of danger in her recent experiences and her present state. The marvelous crusade for justice, especially as it has been furthered by the devoted labors of her intellectual leaders, the support given by the chambers and the government now in office to the movement for revision and the pardon granted by the president of the republic to the condemned, the manifest determination of the minister of war to prevent ill treatment of the officers of the army who testified in Dreyfus's behalf, even the demand for pacification and oblivion on the part of the great majority of the nation, with its dawning sentiment of pity at the thought of the outrages inflicted upon a French officer—outrages monstrous in their iniquity had he been thrice guilty of the charge—and, as we are permitted to believe, with a certain nascent realization of the imperfection of the evidence which induced the two brave members of the Rennes court-martial to vote for his acquittal—these are signs of a return to clarity of intellectual perception and a recovery from the moral distemper of the recent past. As such they reinforce the hope that a nation which has played so great a part in history, which has accomplished so much for political and intellectual liberty, which has made so important contributions to literature, to science, and to art, which in so many respects still marches among the leaders of modern civilization, may yet emerge from her difficulties into settled and vigorous social health.

The question at large involves many factors beyond the limits of the case under discussion. But if we strike the balance of the relevant facts revealed by the *affaire* it must be concluded that there are grounds for serious apprehension lightened by indications of an opposite kind. May these prove the truer omens of the future! May France recover to take her place again in the van of the world's progress! Such is the wish, the prayer of every impartial student of her recent history.

A. C. Armstrong, Jr.

Art. VIII.—SIDNEY LANIER, POET LAUREATE OF THE SOUTH.

The only absolute greatness is the greatness of personality. All else is relative. Things are insignificant compared with persons. Men are more majestic than mountains. They are grander than oceans, sublimer than starry heavens. Therefore the richest "find" in this age of marvelous discoveries is the finding of a man—a man with vision so clear that he sees the divine purpose in his creation, and with motive so pure that he bends all his being to the realization of that high purpose. Such a man was Sidney Lanier. We have titled him "poet laureate of the South" in the settled conviction that both literary criticism and popular favor are, with strengthening tendency, inclined to crown him with this honor. His most conspicuous rival is Edgar Allen Poe. The genius of that strange man is richer and more intense than Lanier's. But, next to poetic passion, sanity is the poet's finest endowment. In this Poe is almost a pauper, while Lanier is a prince.

Then, also, personal character counts for much in an author. Here the contrast is scarcely less than that between animal and angel. Pure passion and robust sanity are so blended with Lanier's refined and elevated spirit that his artistic productions are the natural manifestations of the man.

> His song was only living aloud,
> His work, a singing with his hand.

He is a charming illustration of Milton's classic dictum that he who would "write well in laudable things ought himself to be a true poem." Mr. Lanier's yearning after this noble ideal is embodied in his lyric of Life and Song. Hear him:

> If life were caught by a clarionet,
> And a wild heart, throbbing in the reed,
> Should thrill its joy and trill its fret,
> And utter its heart in every deed,
>
> Then would this breathing clarionet
> Type what the poet fain would be;
> For none o' the singers ever yet
> Has wholly lived his minstrelsy,

Or clearly sung his true, true thought,
Or utterly bodied forth his life,
Or out of life and song has wrought
The perfect one of man and wife;

Or lived and sung, that Life and Song
Might each express the other's all,
Careless if life or art were long
Since both were one, to stand or fall:

So that the wonder struck the crowd,
Who shouted it about the land:
His song was only living aloud,
His work, a singing with his hand!

That Sidney Lanier was a born poet is beyond question. His earliest known paternal ancestor was Jerome Lanier, a persecuted Huguenot who took refuge in England. He and his descendants won distinction at the courts of Queen Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I as musical composers and painters. With other colonists Thomas Lanier emigrated to America in 1716. He settled on a grant of land now occupied by the city of Richmond, Va. One of his grandsons married an aunt of George Washington. Sidney Lanier's maternal ancestors were from the land of John Knox, presumably Scotch Covenanters. Mary Anderson, his mother, was a Virginian by birth. From her father's family, for several generations, came members of the House of Burgesses. They were gifted in poetry, music, and oratory.

With such ancestry on both sides, so distinguished for deepest piety and naturally poetic and musical, heredity had an easy field in which to produce its legitimate fruitage. Sidney Lanier was just such a blossom and fruit as his family tree might have been expected to bear. Macon, Ga., enjoys the distinction of being his birthplace. His father was a lawyer, living on High Street, when, on February 3, 1842, a firstborn gladdened the home. Two immortalities began that day, one of literary fame, another of perfected human character. As the babe blossomed into childhood the boy was early prophetic of the manhood which unfolded therefrom. At the age of fourteen young Sidney was admitted into the sophomore class of Oglethorpe College, at Midway. He was graduated with honors and called to a tutorship in his *alma mater*. Here he

remained until the breaking out of the civil war. As loyal son of the South, with an inherited military taste although of a delicate constitution, he enlisted in one of the first battalions that marched to the front. Faithful and gallant service he rendered as a private soldier, passing through a number of hard battles and performing duty on the signal corps. Finally he was assigned to a blockade runner. Soon his vessel was captured, and for five weary months he was a prisoner at Point Lookout. It was while enduring the privations of army life that he began to observe the invasion of that fatal foe, consumption, against which he battled so valiantly for fifteen disheartening years, and to which at last he was compelled to surrender.

However, his early manhood was not all misfortune and storm. Providence smiled graciously upon him in his friendships and loves. Joyous and bright was December 19, 1867, when he and Miss Mary Day were united in holy wedlock. If ever matrimonial matches are made in heaven, this one was. In the real essentials of beautiful domestic life—love, loyalty, honor, congenial companionship, mutual helpfulness—there was no want. How all must rejoice in the immaculate home life of Wordsworth, Tennyson, Browning, Longfellow, and others of stainless name. To this radiant company belongs Sidney Lanier. His appreciation of her who had unbounded faith in him is partially expressed in "My Springs:"

> Always when the large Form of Love
> Is hid by storms that rage above,
> I gaze in my two springs and see
> Love in his very verity.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> O Love, O Wife, thine eyes are they,
> My springs from out whose shining gray
> Issue the sweet, celestial streams
> That feed my life's bright Lake of Dreams.

Her confidence and devotion were an unfailing inspiration. The part she played in their long tragedy was no less pathetic than that of her manly and heroic husband. In her record of his translation she says: "We are left alone [August 29, 1881] with one another. On the last night of the summer comes a change. His love and immortal will hold off the destroyer of

our summer, yet one more week, until the forenoon of September 7, and then falls the frost, and that unfaltering will renders its supreme submission to the adored will of God." From that hour to this Mrs. Lanier's energies have been consecrated to the rearing of their sons * and to the honoring the memory of him whose writings have enriched our "literature of power" by putting these into permanent form.

In order to fully appreciate this royal seer it should be remembered that most of his best work was performed in the intervals between severe sieges of illness and prostrating hemorrhages from the lungs. Much of his time was consumed in journeying from place to place in search of relief from this crushing burden. During his last winter—too feeble to raise food to his lips, and with a fever temperature of one hundred and four degrees—he dictated his last and by some regarded his greatest poem, "Sunrise." A little later he recovered sufficiently to deliver twelve lectures at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, on "The English Novel and the Principles of its Development." Some of these lectures he penned; but he grew so weak that he was obliged to dictate the remainder to his wife, much of the time not being able to speak above a whisper, and being compelled to sit while delivering the lectures. It is said that "those who heard him listened with a sort of fascinated terror, as in doubt whether the hoarded breath would suffice to the end of the hour." It is no less surprising than creditable that a man constantly so near the grave should have accomplished so much.

His first literary venture was a novel, published in 1867 under the title *Tiger Lilies*, delineating his experience in and abhorrence of war. His own brother pronounces it "crude and boyish." And yet it contains intimations and foregleams of rare poetic power. During his life occasional poems from his pen were published in various leading periodicals. In 1875 he wrote a bright little book entitled *Florida: Its Scenery, Climate, and History*. Among his choicest delights was fellowship with Bayard Taylor, Charlotte Cushman, and other congenial spirits in the realm of art. It was upon the sug-

* A personal letter, dated August 2, 1899, from Mrs. Lanier, informs the writer that the four sons, ranging in age from nineteen to thirty-one, are "living true and earnest lives." All have inherited their father's tastes.

gestion and advice of Mr. Taylor that this southern poet was chosen to compose the "Centennial Cantata," which was set to music by Dudley Buck and rendered by a large chorus, with Thomas's Orchestra, at the Exposition in 1876. This brought the young author into new notice, and added to his growing fame. His *Science of English Verse* is an original analysis of the technical structure and ground-principles of versification. Rhythm is the governing law in poetry, as in music. To American youth he has rendered a much-valued service in the "Boy's Library of Legend and Chivalry"—four books translated and edited by Mr. Lanier, entitled *Boy's Froissart*, *Boy's King Arthur*, *Boy's Mabinogion*, and *Boy's Percy*. Here, as elsewhere, he appeals to all that is noblest in life and aims to elevate and refine his readers. He would awaken in every boy the knightly spirit which determines "to speak the very truth; to perform a promise to the uttermost; to reverence all women; to maintain right and honesty; to help the weak; to treat high and low with courtesy; to be constant to one love; to be fair to his bitter foe; to despise luxury; to preserve simplicity, modesty, and gentleness in heart and bearing." In such a pure, sweet, exhilarating atmosphere as all his writings create nothing mean and coarse and unwholesome can find any attraction. A volume of poems edited by his wife, with a memorial by William Hayes Ward, contains all his verses regarded as worthy of preservation. Next to this in permanent and high value the writer would place his great work on *The English Novel: a Study in the Development of Personality*. Herein the true philosopher appears, with his keen insight into enduring reality. Most intensely interesting and inspiring is his discussion of the marvelous growth of personality from Æschylus to George Eliot. In this unquestioned unfolding and enlarging is the sure test of human progress. Man is immensely larger to-day in knowledge, accuracy, and sweep of thought, in conscious sovereignty over natural forces, in a sense of kinship with the universe and its immanent as well as transcendent Ruler. Quite recently three new volumes of his work have been issued: *Music and Poetry: Essays upon Some Aspects and Interrelations of the Two Arts; Retrospects and Pros-*

poets: Descriptive and Historical Essays; also, *Letters of Sidney Lanier.* In these we catch many sweet strains of the music which his life-harp constantly sent forth.

Not until 1879, only two years previous to his decease, did he ever have a stated yearly salary since his marriage. On his birthday of that year he received notice of his appointment as Lecturer on English Literature at Johns Hopkins. It was no insignificant compliment to receive this recognition from a university of such high rank. A tablet in that hall of learning marks the esteem in which he was held. In order of development Mr. Lanier was first a musician, then a poet. When a child he learned easily to play upon every kind of instrument he could find. But the flute became his favorite. For five years he played first flute in the celebrated Peabody Symphony Orchestra at Baltimore.

Thus far we have endeavored chiefly to give some impression of Mr. Lanier's life and work as viewed from without. That we may understand him more deeply let us look at the hidden man of the heart as he reveals himself in his own language. For he was very frank and transparent, seemingly so conscious of power and purity that he had no qualities he desired to conceal. Early he became a member of the Presbyterian Church. But in mature years he felt the emptiness of all merely conventional formulæ. Nonessentials dropped to their proper plane. His growing, expanding soul grasped realities. Whatever was vital in creed his soul clung to tenaciously. His ethical sense and spiritual vision were clear and vigorous. While yet in school he wrote in his notebook, "The point which I wish to settle is merely by what method shall I ascertain what I am fit for as preliminary to ascertaining God's will with reference to me." He was considerably perplexed in finding music so distinctly his natural bent, and says, "I cannot bring myself to believe that I was intended for a musician, because it seems so small a business in comparison with other things which it seems to me I might do." Later, he did not doubt his call to a literary career, any more than St. Paul doubted his call to preach the Gospel. He entered upon his work with all that sense of sacredness which attaches to divine consecration. His father, seeing how hard the son

struggled for a precarious living, urged him to come home and share the profits of his law business. But the man with a high vocation could not bear the thought of slaying duty and ambition with such a stroke. To his father he wrote, in 1873:

Think how, for twenty years, through poverty, through pain, through weariness, through sickness, through the uncongenial atmosphere of a farcical college and of a bare army and then of an exacting business life, through all the discouragement of being wholly unacquainted with literary people and literary ways—I say, think how, in spite of all these depressing circumstances and of a thousand more which I could enumerate, these two figures of music and poetry have steadily kept in my heart so that I could not banish them. Does it not seem to you as to me, that I begin to have the right to enroll myself among the devotees of these two sublime arts, after having followed them so long and so humbly, and through so much bitterness?

After this the father wisely yielded, and ceased importuning his brave son to turn aside from his rightly chosen path.

Again he wrote to his wife from Texas, whither he had gone in search of physical renewal:

Were it not for some circumstances which make such a proposition seem absurd in the highest degree, I would think that I am shortly to die, and that my spirit hath been singing its swan song before dissolution. All day my soul hath been cutting swiftly into the great space of the subtle, unspeakable deep, driven by wind after wind of heavenly melody. The very inner spirit and essence of all wind songs, bird songs, passion songs, folk songs, country songs, sex songs, soul songs, and body songs hath blown upon me in quick gusts, like the breath of passion, and sailed me into a sea of vast dreams, whereof each wave is at once a vision and a melody.

It was no ordinary soul that experienced these great, spontaneous surgings of innermost forces. Once more he wrote his "dearer self:"

So many great ideas for art are born to me each day, I am swept away into the land of All-Delights by their strenuous sweet whirlwind. And I find within myself such entire yet humble confidence of possessing every single element of power to carry them all out, save the little, paltry sum of money that would suffice to keep us clothed and fed in the meantime. I do not understand this. . . . Of course I have my keen sorrows, momentarily more keen than I would like anyone to know; but I thank God that in a knowledge of him and myself which cometh to me daily in fresh revelations, I have a steadfast firmament of blue in which all clouds soon dissolve.

Who ever advanced a truer and grander philosophy of disappointments than he has given us? They are intended to impress the German maxim that "the good is the enemy of the best." Artists must be satisfied with nothing short of their best work, never allowing talent to crowd genius aside. "Disappointments are as rough weather that seasons timber." His confidence in the high quality of his own productions is refreshing. He says:

> It is of little consequence whether I fail; the I in the matter is a small business. "*Que mon nom soit flètri qua la France soit libre!*" quoth Danton. Which is to say, interpreted by my environment: "Let my name perish; the poetry is good poetry and the music is good music, and beauty dieth not, and the heart that needs it will find it."

That which captivates us in Sidney Lanier is his unflinching fidelity to worthy ideals. These he will follow, no matter through what pain and sorrow they may lead. He is an optimist of the most approved type, having an unconquerable faith in the best things and in the ultimate triumph of the best persons. To his clear vision God is God—the greatest Being conceivable—who is unerringly accomplishing his own eternal plans. In his lofty, exhilarating, and triumphant optimism he is very like Robert Browning, being equally sure that

> God's in his heaven:
> All's right with the world

in so far as Jehovah's supreme purposes are concerned. Not one pessimistic note is struck in all the music of his life. Desert without, oasis within. Bleak winter without, tranquil summer within. In his desk was found a note on Hamlet which reveals a buoyant faith that even transfigures death. He says: "The grave scene is the most immense conception of all tragedy to me. How bleak it is! It is only skulls and regret; there is no comfort in it. But death, my God! it is the sweetest and dearest of all the angels to him who understands." True, Lanier, it is just this to everyone who sees it, as thou dost, from the Christ point of view. He "turneth the shadow of death into the morning." Our keen-sighted poet relished life and life's grand mission. He also estimated death at its real value. His optimism is grounded on his unshaken confidence in that personal Power in the world which

"works for righteousness." There is a fixed moral order in the universe. Conformity thereto puts melody into life. Duty's voice is always rich with jubilant harmonies. Read his "Song of the Chattahoochee," one of the most musical and stimulating of all "Stream Songs." It personifies the river bravely resisting all allurements and fascinations of mountain, forest, and plain, grass, ferns, and flowers. With united voice they all cry, "Abide here with us in restful ease." Listen to its chivalric answer:

> But O, not the hills of Habersham,
> And O, not the valleys of Hall
> Avail: I am fain for to water the plain.
> Downward the voices of Duty call—
> Downward, to toil and be mixed with the main;
> The dry fields burn, and the mills are to turn,
> And a myriad flowers mortally yearn,
> And the lordly main from beyond the plain
> Calls over the hills of Habersham,
> Calls through the valleys of Hall.

Lanier's sublime devotion to loftiest ethical ideals may be heard and felt also in his lectures on "The Development of Personality" already mentioned. He boldly antagonizes the cry of radical æsthetics, that art is alone for art's sake, that it must have no moral purpose. His teachings on this subject are as austere in their exactions as any found in Milton, Ruskin, or the Hebrew prophets of righteousness. What regal majesty in these utterances, addressed to a body of students:

> Permit me to recall to you, in the first place, that the requirement has been from time immemorial that wherever there is contest as between artistic and moral beauty, unless the moral side prevail, all is lost. Let any sculptor hew us out the most ravishing combination of tender curves and spheric softness that ever stood for woman; yet, if the lip have a certain fullness that hints of the flesh, if the brow be insincere, if in the minutest particular the physical beauty suggest a moral ugliness, that sculptor, unless he be portraying moral ugliness for a moral purpose, may as well give over his marble for paving stones. Time, whose judgments are inexorably moral, will not accept his work.

One who has a genius for powerful portrayal, as well as for nicest ethical discrimination, is here speaking. How sublime this truth and how forcibly stated! The judgments of time are "inexorably moral." Lanier continues, magnificently:

For, indeed, we may say that he who has not yet perceived how artistic beauty and moral beauty are convergent lines which run back into a common ideal origin, and who therefore is not afire with moral beauty just as with artistic beauty; that he, in short, who has not come to that stage of quiet and eternal frenzy in which the beauty of holiness and the *holiness of beauty* mean one thing, burn as one fire, shine as one light within him—he is not yet the great artist.

That Mr. Lanier has risen to the sun-cheered summits of Cousin's fine philosophy of "the true, the beautiful, and the good," is evident in the following:

Is it not clear that . . . truth, beauty, wisdom, goodness, love appear as if they were but avatars of one and the same essential God? And, if this be true, cannot one say with authority to the young artist, whether working in stone, in color, in tones, or in character-forms of the novel, "So far from dreading that your moral purpose will interfere with your beautiful creation, go forward in the clear conviction that unless you are suffused—soul and body, one might say—with that moral purpose which finds its largest expression in love—that is, the love of all things in their proper relation—unless you are suffused with this love, do not dare to meddle with beauty; unless you are suffused with beauty, do not dare to meddle with love; unless you are suffused with truth, do not dare to meddle with goodness; in a word, unless you are suffused with beauty, truth, wisdom, goodness, and love, abandon the hope that the ages will accept you as an artist."

Lanier's utterances upon the high mission of art impress us as being filled with "sweetness and light," with crystalline purity and spiritual vitality. The writer knows of nothing in literature more exacting and elevated. They will be sustenance and inspiration for aspiring souls in all coming ages. In the same realm Professor Henry Jones affirms, "No artist can portray filth for filth's sake and remain an artist." And Hegel teaches that "the devil himself is a bad æsthetic figure, with which art has nothing to do, for he is deceit itself, and thus a personage highly prosaic." God is the perfection of beauty. It is truly reassuring to find masters who insist upon art being as sternly opposed to evil as is pure religion. Character achieved under the guidance of the one perfect Man is to be the supreme essential of success in every field of human activity. This is an inference from Mr. Lanier's theory of life. A leading excellence is his remarkable freedom from error in his scientific, philosophic, æsthetic, ethical, and spiritual con-

ceptions. He seems to have caught the secret of living loftily yet practically, of living upon all available strength instead of weakness, which is the fatal blunder of many.

Lanier's great heart ever throbbed in strongest sympathy with nature, which is bright, fragrant, joyous with the felt presence of a loving, personal God. The outward reach and upward flight of his soul are grandly expressed in his "imaginative organ-chant," "The Marshes of Glynn:"

O what is abroad in the marsh and the terminal sea?
Somehow my soul seems suddenly free
From the weighing of fate and the sad discussion of sin,
By the length and the breadth and the sweep of the marshes of Glynn.

Ye marshes, how candid and simple and nothing-withholding and free
Ye publish yourselves to the sky and offer yourselves to the sea!
Tolerant plains, that suffer the sea and the rains and the sun,
Ye spread and span like the catholic man who hath mightily won
God out of knowledge and good out of infinite pain
And sight out of blindness and purity out of stain.

As the marsh-hen secretly builds on the watery sod,
Behold I will build me a nest on the greatness of God:
I will fly in the greatness of God as the marsh-hen flies
In the freedom that fills all the space 'twixt the earth and the skies:
By so many roots as the marsh-grass sends in the sod
I will heartily lay me a-hold on the greatness of God.

Other poets have been moved by the vast and sublime in the natural world to poetic expression. But Lanier experienced the divine presence everywhere. The warm throbbing of God's heart is felt in every atom, and its music is heard in every sound that falls from the sky and rises out of the earth. The common things of field and forest are full of beauty, suggestive of truth, goodness, and love. "Corn," "Clover," "From the Flats," "Tampa Robins," "The Bee," "The Dove," are poems illustrating his vision of the lofty in the lowly and his power of transfiguring the commonplace into celestial splendor. Lanier inherited an intensely religious nature; not narrow, not bigoted, not sectarian or conventional, but essentially and genuinely reverent, devout, loyal. He was in love with God and all of God's works and plans. What a tranquil spirit of worship is found in "A Florida Sunday:"

Long lissome coast that in and outward swerves,
The grace of God made manifest in curves—
All riches, goods, and braveries never told.
Of earth, sun, air, and heaven—now I hold
Your being in my being: I am ye,
And ye, myself: yea, lastly, Thee,
God, whom my roads all reach, however they run,
My Father, Friend, Belovèd, dear All-One,
Thee in my soul, my soul in Thee, I feel,
Self of myself.

Pantheism? Yes, blessed personal, Christian pantheism as he further affirms:

Thou, Father, without logic, tellest me
How this divine denial true may be,
How All's in each, yet every one of all
Maintains his self complete and several.

Personality is Lanier's one supremely precious truth, in whose light all else must be interpreted. And yet his sense of kinship with all created things is a source of comfort and strength to him. It is this deep love of nature that brings him into such perfect sympathy with Christ under the shadows of Gethsemane. Like Jesus, who loved solitude, often seeking the quiet grove and mountain-side retreat, Lanier frequently fled "from men's ungodly quarrel about God." He says: "I fled in tears to the woods and laid me down on the earth. Then somewhat like the beating of many hearts came up to me out of the ground; and I looked, and my cheek lay close to a violet. Then my heart took courage and I said, 'I know that thou art the word of my God, little violet.'" How natural for one having this experience to write exquisitely the tender "Ballad of Trees and the Master." Is not this poem nature's witness to Christ, as "The Crystal" is history's testimony to his unapproachable superiority?

After calling up many of the most illustrious governor-spirits of the past—the wisest seers and sweetest singers of every age and clime—and finding in every one some imperfection, Lanier then turns exultingly to Christ:

But Thee, but Thee, O sovereign Seer of time,
But Thee, O poet's Poet, Wisdom's Tongue,
But Thee, O man's best Man, O love's best Love,
O perfect life in perfect labor writ,

O all men's Comrade, Servant, King, or Priest,—
What *if* or *yet*, what mole, what flaw, what lapse,
What least defect or shadow of defect,
What rumor, tattled by an enemy,
Of inference loose, what lack of grace
Even in torture's grasp, or sleep's, or death's,—
O what amiss may I forgive in Thee,
Jesus, good Paragon, Thou crystal Christ.

Again, in "Remonstrance" we find the æsthetic's testimony to Christ, urging our love of him, not because required to do so, but because of the essential loveliness of his perfect beauty:

O let me love my Lord more fathom deep
Than there is line to sound with: let me love
My fellow not as men that mandates keep:
Yea, all that's lovable, below, above,
That let me love by heart, by heart, because
(Free from the penal pressure of the laws)
I find it fair.

The very "clods below," as well as "the stars above," are radiant and pleasing because faith finds, he writes, "my Lord's dear presence" therein.

Miss Willard met Lanier only once, and thus describes "this gifted son of the South:"

In personal appearance he was of medium height, exceedingly slight figure, face very pale and delicate, with finely chiseled features, dark, clustering hair, and beard after the manner of the Italian school of art. Altogether, he had a countenance rare and pleasing as his verse. As we met for a moment after the lecture was over, he spoke kindly of my work and southern mission, evincing that sympathy of the scholar with the work of progressive philanthropy which our grand Wendell Phillips declared to be pathetically rare. . . . "We are all striving for one end," said Lanier, with genial, hopeful smile, "and that is to develop and ennoble the humanity of which we form a part."

A refined, cultured, sensitive, harplike nature responding musically to every breeze of truth, goodness, beauty, and love, Mr. Lanier's spirit was delicate and rich as that of noblest woman. But, along with this delicate and sensitive quality, we find the sturdy, stalwart, chivalric elements of manly hardihood. In criticising what he regarded coarse and repulsive in Walt Whitman's ideal American called "a democrat," Mr. Lanier says:

My democrat, the democrat whom I contemplate with pleasure, the democrat who is to write or to read the poetry of the future, may have a mere thread for a biceps, yet he shall be strong enough to handle hell, he shall play ball with the earth; and, albeit his stature may be no more than a boy's, he shall still be taller than the redwoods of California; his height shall be the height of great resolution and love and faith and beauty and knowledge and subtle meditation; his head shall be forever among the stars.

Dwelling much of the time in celestial realms of thought and feeling, Lanier yet cherished an abiding interest in all human needs, as demonstrated in "The Symphony." Selfish greed may grind the weary toiler for a season, but manhood must rise. For, he says,

> I dare avouch my faith is bright
> That God doth right and God hath might.

He was very fond of the section that gave him birth. But he was too large for a provincial. His "Psalm of the West" is vocal with whole-hearted Americanism.

As a sound and wholesome teacher of universal truths, a seer with strong, clear vision of permanent principles in their true relations, an orator of elegance and power, a superb and captivating musician, a poet with splendid imagination, warm, pure passion, and noble sanity, and, higher than all, a manly man, heroic in purpose, unimpeachable in motive, above suspicion in practice, symmetrical in character, Sidney Lanier is not only an honor to the South, but is one of the rarest treasures of the highest form of American wealth.

Matthias S. Kaufman

Art. IX.—IS THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT EVANGELICAL?

In the Sermon on the Mount we have exhibited the summit of Christianity, a summit which the farthest climbing saints see far off in the dim distance.—*W. Robertson Nichols.*

I wonder if any of you have ever had the feeling that has come to me in reading Christ's Sermon on the Mount. It is a feeling of great distance and almost intolerable remoteness—a feeling as though one should come to a mighty cliff, towering far up into heaven, crowned with eternal beauty and radiance, and hear a voice crying from that far height, "Come up hither and dwell with me." When I listen to those wonderful beatitudes, when I hear those searching demands for a purity which is stainless in deed, in word, in thought, in feeling, when I see how strait is the gate and how narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, a sense of utter helplessness sweeps through me and my spirit is overwhelmed within me.—*Henry Van Dyke.*

We look at the Sermon on the Mount so often from the point of view of a complete Christianity that it has somewhat quietly been taken to be the sum total of the Christian message. As though a law were made easier to keep by being made more difficult. Whatever language may be held, and held rightly, as to the lofty spiritual character of the morality inculcated in the Sermon on the Mount, it cannot be said to do more than place the ideal before the mind. Those to whom it appeals —and there will necessarily be many—will grope after it in the obscure ways of life. They will see in its light their own failures, and they will learn the endless variety of the causes of their faults. And if they try to face its full meaning without evasion or diminution of its force they will find out how it constrains and presses upon the will at every turn; how it closes avenues of action and opens a narrow and difficult path which few indeed will dare to tread. And thus the Sermon on the Mount takes its place rather with the older dispensation than the new. It is still a law, still gives commands to the will and sets before it an ideal. So that the Sermon on the Mount kills, to use Paul's language, as relentlessly as the law.—*T. B. Strong*, in *Bampton Lectures* for 1895.

The foregoing quotations disclose a fact of more than trivial significance. Some of the foremost Christian thinkers of our times are troubled with grave misgivings concerning the evangelical character of the Sermon on the Mount. Yet those who have ventured to impugn its evangelical character have been led

astray through a mischievous and mistaken exegesis of those familiar words of the Master, "Be ye therefore perfect"—or, rather, "Ye therefore shall be perfect"—"as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." These words contain the golden key which unlocks the spiritual mysteries of the Sermon on the Mount. He who goes astray in his exegesis of this text goes astray hopelessly.

These words, "Ye therefore shall be perfect," have from time immemorial been most persistently and erroneously construed as though Jesus intended here to display to his disciples the highest altitudes of moral attainment, the *ultima Thule* of religious aspiration and effort, that final goal of perfected righteousness which "the farthest climbing saints see far off in the dim distance." What new, compassionate note did Jesus sound in his ministry, if in this Sermon on the Mount he holds up before men a standard of moral achievement so difficult, so faultless, so unapproachable that it kills as "relentlessly as the law?" As a matter of fact, when Jesus said, "Ye therefore shall be perfect [or "ye shall be right"], as your heavenly Father is perfect ["is right"], nothing could have been farther from his thought than the final goal of perfected righteousness. In reality, he was graciously exhibiting to the yearning, troubled hearts of men the promise of evangelical righteousness, the promise of a new nature,

> In every thought renewed,
> And full of love divine.

Surely the angels in heaven must weep over that exegetical blindness, that legal obtuseness, which here in this text has perpetually confused the evangelical foundation of righteousness with the far-off, ever-receding goal of perfected goodness which has invested with more than Old Testament rigor and harshness these most gracious words that ever fell from the lips of that One who was full of grace and truth, "Ye shall be perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect."

To those who persist in interpreting the Sermon on the Mount through the veil of Moses it may be freely conceded that Jesus does reaffirm the Old Testament demands for perfected goodness. Judaism and Christianity are identical in

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To those who persist in interpreting the Sermon on the Mount through the veil of Moses it may be freely conceded that Jesus does reaffirm the Old Testament demands for perfected goodness. Judaism and Christianity are identical in

the fact that both hold before men "a summit which the farthest climbing saints see far off in the dim distance." Religious life alike under the law and under the Gospel is a perpetual aspiration and struggle after an ideal perfection. Nevertheless, in the Sermon on the Mount the Master sounds a new and original note. Jesus here gives emphasis, not to essential points of agreement, but to essential points of difference. These words, "Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect," constitute the climax to a series of sharply marked antitheses drawn by Christ to give point and edge alike to the radical difference and to the immeasurable distance between Judaism and Christianity. The distinctive characteristic of the law consisted not in the fact that it held before men difficult standards of righteousness, but in the fact that it chafed and fretted the human soul with uncongenial and distasteful standards. The perverse desires and inclinations of sinful human nature impelled one way, the perfect law pointed another; and, gazing toward those shining summits "which the farthest climbing saints see far off in the dim distance," the despondent legalist cried out, "I have seen an end of all perfection: but thy commandment is exceeding broad."

The distinctive mission of Jesus, illumined throughout the Sermon on the Mount in letters of gold which he who runs may read, was not to reaffirm the Old Testament demands for perfected goodness, but to disclose to burdened human hearts the hidden springs of virtue, the underlying principles of righteousness, the gracious law of life and love and liberty. The religious task which Moses assigned humanity was the consummation of an ideal, perfected, finished righteousness. The religious task which Jesus assigns men is the gratification of an insatiable hunger for righteousness. He came to infuse into sinful, moribund human nature a spiritual life and health and vigor which would make religious activity as natural, as spontaneous, as agreeable as all other forms of human activity. The good tree in obedience to the law of its own being perfumes the springtime with its blossoms and gladdens the autumn with its fruit. So the true spiritual life by a law no less natural puts forth the bloom and fragrance and fruitage

of goodness. Jesus was preeminently a child of nature, a being of holy impulses. His sinless nature unfolded into the consummate perfection of an ideal sainthood as naturally as springtime unfolds into summer, as childhood ripens into manhood. Through all the trials and conflicts of his earthly life we behold the harmonious action, the natural play of a nature aflame with the love of righteousness. "The holy sadness, the peculiar unrest, the high and lofty melancholy which belongs to a spirit that strives after heights to which it can never attain" * may suit the somber genius of Judaism, but it does not comport with the buoyant temper of Christianity as embodied in the life and teachings of Jesus.

In the Sermon on the Mount Jesus flings abroad a proclamation of emancipation to men chafing under the tyranny of uncongenial and incompatible moral ideals. The Sermon throbs with the prophecy of a spiritual transfiguration that will place man's religious life upon a plane of nature by translating unregenerate human nature into the realm of spiritual impulse and desire. When Jesus said, "Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect," he uses not the language of command, but the language of promise. He here promulgates to the sons of men the glorious *Magna Charta* of their liberties as the sons of God, the law of life and love which makes men free from the law of sin and death. The Old Testament saint who bewailed the fact that he derived no inspiration from his ideal † was looking to the wrong source for inspiration. Ideals can furnish intelligent guidance and direction to human effort, but the heart alone can furnish motive power. The true artist gets his inspiration from love of his art. In literature, in commerce, in war, in the realm of nature, and in the realm of grace it is the heart which drives the motor wheels of human progress and achievement.

> Love rules the court, the camp, the grave,
> And men below and saints above.

It was easy for Rothschild to toil for the accumulation of gain, because his heart was aflame with the love of gold. It was easy for Newton to thread the intricate paths of science, because his heart was aglow with the love of knowledge. It was

* Frederick W. Robertson. † Psa. cxix, 96.

easy for Napoleon to hazard the perils of a hundred battle-fields, because his heart was consumed with the feverish lust of power. It was easy for Jesus to scale the lofty heights of spiritual achievement, because his soul was aflame with a passion for righteousness.

And herein consists the true imitation of Jesus, as illumined in the Sermon on the Mount. The Christian is to rise by a new spiritual creation into a nature like Christ's. Through the sanctifying energy of the Holy Spirit he is to become a creature of healthful impulses, and then to his own self be true. Not in the absence of toil and conflict, but in the natural play of spiritual impulse and desire where aspiration and effort flow in rhythmic unison, can we enter into the serene secret of spiritual repose which Jesus disclosed to the yearning hearts of men when he said, "Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect." For unto us "are given exceeding great and precious promises," whereby we become "partakers of the divine nature."

Joseph Peacock

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

Dr. H. M. Harman, in his introduction to Dr. C. W. Rishell's book, *The Higher Criticism*, said: "We make no objection to higher criticism being applied to the Bible. On the contrary, we believe in it. But it must embrace the discussion of external as well as internal evidence. In many cases the only proof of the authorship of a book is external evidence. The internal evidence may, in fact, amount to nothing at all. On this point we need refer only to the authorship of the Letters of Junius. How has the question of their authorship puzzled the learned and critical world! Where external and internal evidence unite in proof of authorship we have the highest certainty. But one of the most difficult of all problems is to determine whether a book is the work of one author or more. We may be satisfied that there is a unity of plan in it, and, of course, some arranger or architect of the whole; but how many men had a share in the work we could never tell. . . . The books which compose the Bible have not all the same degree of certainty and strength, or the same inspiration and importance. They are not like the links in a chain, which is no stronger than its weakest link; but they are like witnesses in court in favor of some great cause which depends upon the strongest, not upon the weakest witness. The great center of the Bible is Christ, whose history is one of the best authenticated in the world. He is our Great Citadel, and in possession of this Impregnable Fortress we need not be alarmed if some of the outposts are carried by the enemy."

Professor A. H. Sayce, writing some time ago in the *Contemporary Review* against the evil tendencies, the extravagances, and the vicious methods of certain biblical criticism, objected especially to so much weight being claimed for merely linguistic arguments, saying, "I have been a student of language and languages all my life, and the study has made me very skeptical as to the historical and literary conclusions that can be drawn

from linguistic testimony alone." Professor Sayce concluded his article as follows:

The same method and arguments which have made of the Pentateuch a later and untrustworthy compilation, whose divine origin and character are discernible only to the critics themselves, would, if applied to the gospels, end in the same results. In this country, it is true, our critical friends have hitherto kept their faces steadily averted from the New Testament, but the Protestant critics of the Continent have been less timid or prudent, and the way along which they should walk has long ago been pointed out to them by the Tübingen school. And even if we confine ourselves to the Pentateuch, the consequences of the "critical" position are serious enough. It is not only that the conception of the Mosaic law which lies at the back of our own religion, which was assumed by our Lord and his apostles, and which has been held ever since by the Christian Church, is swallowed up in chaotic darkness; we are forced to assign the origin of the belief in the divine message and supernatural authority of the law to successful fraud. I know we are told that what would be fraud in modern Europe was not fraud in ancient Israel, and that with an improvement in manners and education has come an improvement in morals. But the question is not about ancient Israel and its ideas of morality, but about the immutable God, under whose inspiration, if we are to follow the teaching of Christ and Christianity, the Law was given to Israel. The "higher critics" never seem to me to realize that their conclusions are opposed to the great practical fact of the existence of traditional Christianity, and that against this fact they have nothing to set except the linguistic speculations of a few individual scholars. It is not Athanasius against the world, but Nestorius against the Church. On the one side we have a body of doctrine, which has been the support in life and the refuge in death of millions of men of all nationalities and grades of mind, which has been witnessed to by saints and martyrs, which has conquered first the Roman empire and then the barbarians who destroyed it, and which has brought a message of peace and good-will to suffering humanity. On the other side there is a handful of critics, with their list of words and polychromatic Bibles. And yet the "higher criticism" has never saved any souls or healed any bodies.

CHRISTIAN UNITY IN INDIA.

THE recent celebration of the Centenary of the Church Missionary Society was made the occasion for much criticism in leading Anglo-Indian journals of the manner, methods, and attitude of the Church of England in its missionary work. The missionaries of that Church have tried to refute the charges made against them, declaring themselves anxious to remove all obstacles to missionary comity and cooperation.

Alfred Nundy, of Gorakhpore, N. W. P., writing in the *Contemporary Review* in advocacy of an independent self-supporting, self-governing, self-extending national Church for India, such as Henry Venn aimed at sixty years ago, shows on the authority of no less a person than Bishop Clifford, of Lucknow, that the

missionaries of the Church of England are primarily responsible for the perpetuation of disunion and the want of comity and cooperation. Bishop Clifford, before he was raised to the episcopate, when secretary of the Church Missionary Society, at Calcutta, addressing the Bengal Church Mission Conference, spoke as follows :

Yes, brethren, let us not deceive ourselves in this matter ; the sin and shame of the disunion which exists among native Christians rest almost entirely with us European missionaries. It is we who are guilty—we missionaries of the Church of England who have not sought enough to conciliate our brethren, and have often carried ourselves stiffly and as though we had a monopoly of the grace of God, and the Non-conformist missionaries who have needlessly perpetuated their sectarianism and imposed it upon their converts in this heathen country, where often the original cause of difference has no existence. God forgive us all, for we are verily guilty concerning our brethren. How should *they* know, how should *they* be able to stand out for union against those whom they regard as their spiritual fathers? No, it is *we* who are to blame, we with our Phariseeism and our bigotry and our want of brotherly love. Let us not attempt to excuse or hide our fault, but, frankly acknowledging it to God and one another and our native brethren, try to make amends, and, before it becomes quite too late, begin now to strive sincerely and honestly to put away these unhappy divisions and build up the Church of Christ in godly union and concord. Here is this vast empire with its 250,000,000 of souls, sunk in the darkness of ignorance and superstition and false worship. And here are we, the disciples of Him who prayed for his people that they all may be one. How have we learned our Master, and how do we represent his will to the people of this country? Alas ! instead of going to them as one body, united in one great purpose, preaching the one Lord, one faith, one baptism, inviting them to join themselves to Christ, and in him to all who call upon his name, we find ourselves split up into some twenty sections, each with a different banner and a peculiar shibboleth of its own. Shame to us that we cannot worship together, cannot meet at the same Holy Supper, often cannot preach and work side by side in the same town, without endless jealousies and heart burnings !

Mr. Nundy, illustrating the want of comity and cooperation, says :

Some years ago I had to go on professional work to the interior of a district in the Northwestern Provinces. I called on the Indian pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who invited me to attend the Sunday evening service. The Methodists, though they have but recently started the work of evangelization in these parts, have been so far successful that the converts in and about this town number more than five hundred, drawn mostly from the lower castes. No special place of worship had been erected, but the service was held in the veranda of an ordinary native house. The next morning I took a walk in the town and was pointed out a building capable of accommodating one hundred and fifty persons, which was the church and school of the Church Missionary Society who had commenced work there fifty years ago. The building was closed, and in the veranda around it a number of cows and goats were tied. On going into the compound a Christian

woman, the wife of a man in charge, came out, and informed me that once in four months a missionary from a neighboring city visited the town and held service there, which was attended by two families. Asked if she had ever been to the service of the Methodists, she replied no, she did not belong to that Church; besides, the padre sahib would be angry. Here we have the case of a congregation without a place of worship, and a place of worship without a congregation! Alas! for that Christianity which renders it impossible for those in charge of such a place to proffer it to those [the American Methodists] who could utilize it to good purpose.

Another incident, indicative of the same spirit, is as follows:

An Indian pastor, working under the Church of England, once told me that he did not allow any members of his congregation to go to a Nonconformist place of worship, and volunteered certain abstruse reasons which, paraphrased in plain language, meant that he considered his Church alone as entitled to be called Christian. Some years ago, while at Jubbulpore, I asked the native pastor of the Church Missionary Society—as simple-minded and honest a Christian as I have come across—if he was going to hear Bishop Thoburn, of the American Methodist Church, deliver an address. He seemed shocked at such a proposal being made to him, and so far as I could make out he sincerely believed it would be wrong on his part to do so, and also that he would thereby incur the displeasure of the English missionary under whom he was working.

That the native pastor was in error to some extent as to this particular missionary's spirit appears from Mr. Nundy's next sentence: "His face was a picture to look at when I told him afterward that among the congregation I noticed this very missionary, who is now the secretary of the Church Missionary Society at Allahabad."

It is the opinion of Alfred Nundy, expressed in the *Contemporary Review*, that the American Methodists (the Methodist Episcopalians under the leadership of Bishop Thoburn) are probably destined to take a more prominent part in the evangelization of India than any other denomination.

AN UNEXPECTED SIDE-LIGHT ON MISSIONS.

We who stay at home do not, as a rule, see missionaries at their best. Most of their noblest action is out of our sight. We see them when they go, young, timid, apprehensive, doubtful, untried, distrustful of themselves, their fitness for the work untested and a matter of uncertainty to them and to us. We see them no more until they return, probably worn with labor in unkindly climates, often broken in health, pale, thin, weak-voiced, and with the remnant of themselves giving but an inadequate

impression of their capability and powers. They appear before our assemblies and speak not at their best in any way, having lost practice by disuse of our language in public speaking, their work having given them no training for addressing such audiences as listen to them here. This description fits not every case, but very many. All the faithful service, the brave doing and patient endurance, which often lie between their timid and trembling departure and their broken and trembling return, is unseen by us. And they do not report it to us. They tell us of the dire plight of the heathen, sunk in darkness and degradation, of the needs of the work and its encouraging promise, of the proved power of the Gospel to transform men of every tribe and tongue, and of the number, faithfulness, and growth of the converts. But they pronounce no eulogy upon themselves. They present us with no picture of their own noble behavior, their self-obliterating generosities, their self-inflicted privations, their courageous facing of hardships and dangers which were the customary commonplaces of their daily lives. They do not glorify themselves, nor pose as heroes, though many of them are. They move our pity for the wretched heathen, they rouse our loyalty to Christ, but make no attempt to elicit applause or admiration for themselves. Large as is the literature of missions in history and biography, the great story as a whole is not told at all on earth ; its memorabilia can be found only in the archives of heaven. Thus it happens that due appreciation and full justice fail to be meted out to missionaries. Moreover, and still worse, they suffer unmerited disparagement from reports given by a miscellaneous assortment of travelers who have had only a glimpse of them, many of whom are godless, out of sympathy with religious work, incapable of estimating its value or even of perceiving its effects, and who receive their impressions largely through unchristian merchants from Christian lands, whose unprincipled and often licentious lives in heathen cities compel missionaries to decline association with them, thereby kindling a feeling of resentment in the traders, who manifest their animosity after the fashion of their kind by denouncing the missionaries as self-righteous prigs and hypocrites, and variously misrepresenting their manner of life and their work. Worse still, Christian travelers sometimes visit missionaries and receive their hospitalities, which are made as bountiful as generous hearts, at cost oftentimes of much pinching

self-denial, can procure, and then, having devoured the missionary's carefully husbanded resources, go home to report that missionaries live in luxury. Worst of all, even in the Church unchristian selfishness and sheer stinginess lead some to squirm out of a sense of obligation, and to unharness themselves from the chariot of the King by declaring the futility of foreign missions and disparaging missionaries, as a reason or an excuse for repudiating responsibility for the salvation of the heathen.

The aggregate of injustice toward the bravest and most devoted servants of God and friends of mankind makes it the more obligatory upon truth-loving persons to help redress the balance by setting forth creditable facts which are from time to time thrown up to the surface, and justifies us in assisting to give publicity to a bit of unprocured and unanticipated testimony to the character and services of missionaries which recently floated into literature on the current of an explorer's rehearsal of his experiences. The narrative referred to, while of interest to the world in general and to Christendom in particular, may be said to have a special interest to us of the Methodist Episcopal Church, because the unsolicited testimony contained therein relates to some of our own workers in mission fields, whose work, like that of most missionaries, is so distant, so modest, and so untrumpeted that the Church at large scarcely knows their names. The name and fame of Father Damien, the Roman Catholic apostle to the lepers of the Sandwich Islands, who shared their life until he took their disease and died their death, have gone round the world, and his story thrills the heart of Christendom; but how many know of the Methodist missionary and his wife who exiled themselves to the leper island of Molokai in that same group, and for many years lived among its wretched inhabitants, laboring to mitigate their sufferings and illumine their hopelessness with the Gospel of Him who brought life and immortality to light, warding off from themselves as long as possible by strictest cleanliness the loathsome disease, but constantly facing the probability that some day its portentous sign must appear upon their own pure and innocent bodies?

Our North India Mission Conference occupies the Northwest Provinces east of the Ganges, and the province of Oudh. In the appointments for Kumaon District, in 1897, the Minutes report this assignment, "Bhot : Harkua Wilson, Shadulla Lawrence, Benjamin Marqus." In the report of S. Knowles, presiding

elder of that district, to the Conference session held at Lucknow, January 7–12, 1897, Bishop Thoburn presiding, we read:

I joined my appointment in February last, and after working for a few weeks in Bhabar at the foot of the Haldwani Hills, and then in March organizing the work in Naini Tal for the summer months, I started in a tour to visit Dwarahat and the northeastern part of our Kumaon District.

At Dwarahat we found Brother and Sister Rockey well settled down to their various forms of mission work. Their three outstations were well manned, their boys' and girls' boarding schools well filled and productive of great good, their hospital and dispensary popular and most useful, and their religious services carried on with vigor and encouraging results. After holding Quarterly Conference we started for Dharchula, in Bhot. It took us seven days, with as many hard marches over giddy heights and through malarious valleys, to reach our station at Dharchula. The way to this place is certainly difficult, but, thanks to the government for good roads and safe bridges, it is not inaccessible. We found Dr. Harkua Wilson, who is in charge of the circuit, Misses Sheldon and Browne with all their helpers, ready to move up two marches beyond to their summer home in Biyas. The Bhotiyas, too, had all moved up from this valley to the heights of more northern Bhot. As we could not accompany our brethren and sisters we contented ourselves with holding our Quarterly Conference and having such meetings as the time allowed. There is an encouraging work among the families of the nomadic traders and villagers in the valleys in the winter, and higher up in Chaudas and Biyas in the summer. Dr. H. Wilson in one direction, and Misses Sheldon and Browne in another, lately made successful though arduous trips into Tibet.

Bhot is the name applied by the natives of India to "that portion of the country which includes Darma, Bias, and Chaudas, and which has for natural boundaries the Kali River to the southeast, separating it from Nepaul and the great Himalayan chain to the northeast, extending from the Lissar Peak in a general direction of about 115°."

Through this northern hill country of India, bordering on Tibet, there passed in May, 1897, Mr. Arthur Henry Savage Landor, a hardy young English explorer of considerable repute as a traveler in remote parts of Korea, Japan, and other parts of the world, being on his way at the time mentioned to attempt an exploration of Tibet, "the sacred land of the Lamas." Landing at Bombay from England early in April, he traveled northward by Bareilly, Naini Tal, Almora, Pithoragarh, Shadgora, Askote, Kalika, and Dharchula, which last place is one of those named by Presiding Elder Knowles's report as officially visited by him, and occupied by Dr. Harkua Wilson with other Methodist Episcopal missionaries. Far up among the lower Himalayas, and on the exposed frontier, the passing explorer found our mission station; and in the magnificent two-volumed octavo

book* which tells of his travels and awful experiences in the hostile land of Tibet he describes this place, gives an account of his reception by our missionaries, and records the inestimable services rendered him by one of them, to whom, in fact, he declares himself indebted for the saving of his life. According to Mr. Landor's description, Dharchula, the largest Shoka winter settlement, situated on a fine stretch of flat land about a hundred feet above the Kali River, "is a village consisting of twelve long rows of roofless houses similar in size and shape. At the extreme limit of the settlement stand four larger buildings. One of these is a daramsalla, or shelter for travelers, and the others are high stone edifices—the school, hospital, and dispensary belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Mission, and under the careful supervision of Miss Sheldon, M.D., Miss Brown, and that wonderful pioneer, Dr. H. Wilson. A bungalow of the same mission is built higher up on the hillside."† The explorer gives the following account of his visit to our missionary ladies:

I was received with the utmost courtesy by Miss Sheldon, M.D., and Miss Browne of the Methodist Episcopal Mission. I have in my lifetime met with many missionaries of all creeds in nearly every part of the globe, but never has it been my luck to meet two such charming, open-minded, and really hard-working ladies as those who now so kindly received me. "Come right in, Mr. Landor," said Miss Sheldon with her delightful American accent, and she shook hands with me in good hearty fashion. The natives had praised to me the charity and helpfulness of this lady. I found their praise more than justified. By night or day she would never refuse to help the sick, and her deeds of kindness which became known to me are far too numerous to detail in these pages. Her patience, her kindly manner toward the natives, her good heart, the wonderful cures she wrought among the sick, were items of which these honest mountaineers had everlasting praises to sing. A Shoka was telling me that it was not an uncommon thing for her to give away all her own food supplies and even the clothes from her back—courting discomfort for herself, yet happy in her noble work. With all was com-

**In the Forbidden Land.* By A. Henry Savage Landor. An account of a journey into Tibet, capture by Tibetan Lamas and soldiers, imprisonment, torture, and ultimate release brought about by Dr. Wilson and the Political Peshkar Karak Sing-Pal: With the Government Inquiry and Report and other official documents by J. Larkin, Esq., deputed by the government of India; and several hundred illustrations. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 307, 250. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $9.

†Martha A. Sheldon, M.D., the daughter of a Congregational minister in Minnesota, was sent out by our Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, and is supported by the New England Branch thereof. Her education as a physician was obtained in the Medical School of Boston University. Miss E. L. M. Browne is a deaconess, trained at Muttra, of whom Miss Sheldon wrote: "She has entered enthusiastically into the work, and in a very short time was able to give Scripture lessons to the Bhotiyas in their own language."

bined a noble modesty. No word about herself or her good deeds ever passed her lips. A pioneer in these parts, she evidently must have encountered much difficulty in the beginning. Her good influence over the Shokas is very considerable. The same can be said of Miss Browne, who was in every way a worthy comrade for Miss Sheldon. They have both, in a comparatively short space of time, become fully acquainted with the Shoka language, and can converse in it as fluently as in English, this fact alone endearing them greatly to the natives.

That these ladies, working on the northernmost border of the British empire, not far from the main chain of the Himalayas, are in an exposed and unprotected region, overrun by marauding Tibetans, is indicated in Mr. Landor's description of its condition. On page 45 of the first volume of his book he says:

> These lofty "pattis" of Darma, Bias, and Chaudas nominally form part of the British empire, our geographical boundary with Nari Khorsum, or Hundes (Great Tibet), being the main Himalayan chain forming the watershed between the two countries. In spite of this actual territorial right, I found at the time of my visit in 1897 that it was impossible not to agree with the natives in asserting that British prestige and protection in those regions were myths; that Tibetan influence alone was dominant and prevailing, and Tibetan law enforced and feared. The natives invariably showed abject obsequiousness and servile submission to Tibetans, being at the same time compelled to display actual disrespect to British officials. They were driven to bring the greater number of civil and criminal cases before Tibetan magistrates in preference to having them tried in a British court. The Tibetans, in fact, openly claimed possession of the "pattis" bordering on Nari Khorsum; and the more emphatically to impress our natives with their influence as superior to British, they came over to hibernate on our side, and made themselves quite at home in the warmer valleys and in the larger bazaars. They brought their families with them, and drove before them thousands and thousands of sheep to graze on our pasture-lands; they gradually destroyed our forests in Bias to supply southwestern Tibet with fuel. For this they not only paid nothing, but compelled our native subjects to convey the timber over the high mountain passes for them without remuneration. Necessarily such unprincipled taskmasters did not draw the line at extorting from our natives, under any pretense, money, food, clothes, and everything else they could possibly seize.

In a region where British subjects, living on British territory, have so little protection extended over them by the British government of India, American missionaries can hardly feel themselves very safe.* Sometimes they are obliged to pro-

* Nevertheless our missionaries pervade the region. In order to know the condition and character of the population, as well as to be known by them, long itinerating trips are taken. Miss Sheldon writes: "From June 9 to July 5, 1897, Miss Browne and I, with two Bible-readers, visited, so far as I know, every village in Biyas Bhot; and then, crossing a corner of Nepaul, we entered Tibet by the Tinkar Pass. We went about five miles in, but were allowed to remain on Tibetan soil only one night. A guard of about thirty Tibetans was sent to watch our movements and keep us

tect themselves. When our ubiquitous pioneer Dr. Harkua Wilson had erected a dispensary at Gungi, a day's march beyond Garbyang, the Tibetans came and threatened him with confiscation and worse if he did not immediately comply with their exactions. He refused, and reported the matter to the British officials at Kumaon, but, knowing that little or no protection could be expected from that quarter, he kept men on watch, and held his rifle ready.

After Mr. Landor had called to pay his respects to our mission Miss Sheldon invited him to dinner on Sunday, when the Christian converts dine with the mission workers. Of this occasion he writes:

> I arrived punctually at the hour appointed, and on the veranda of the bungalow were laid some nice clean mats, upon which we all sat cross-legged in native fashion. We three were provided with knife and fork, but all the natives helped themselves with their fingers, which they used with much dexterity. There were among the converts some Hindus, some Shokas, some Humlis, and a Tibetan woman. All counted, I suppose there were about twenty of them, and it would be impossible to find a better behaved set of Christians anywhere.

The principal missionary figure in Mr. Landor's account of his dangerous expedition into the Forbidden Land is Dr. Harkua Wilson, a native of India, our preacher in charge of the circuit, a medical man and hospital assistant. In him we see again, as countless times before, the missionary as the traveler's best friend—all men's best friend—sympathetic, humane, and helpful to the uttermost.

Again and again, Landor says, he "found shelter under the ever hospitable roof of Dr. Wilson" at Garbyang, where that very active missionary helps him make preparations for his journey into Tibet, advises him as to his outfit, and aids him in securing servants and carriers. Dr. Wilson works for hours at weighing, dividing, and packing in equal back-loads the necessary provisions and equipment. He accompanies the expedi-

from going farther into their country. To them we gave our message of salvation through Christ, and retraced our steps over the snowy heights." (Miss Mary Reid, our missionary at Chandag Heights, in this same wild hill region, reports one hundred and seventy-seven villages visited in 1897, reaching thousands of listeners with the Gospel.) The loneliness of this, as of many another missionary post, is seen in a letter written by Miss Sheldon from Chaudas in November, 1897: "Miss Browne has gone in to the District Conference at Naini Tal. I am sixty miles from my nearest neighbors at Pithoragarh, whom I have not seen for nearly a year. But usually no feeling of loneliness or depression creeps over me, and there certainly is no desire to leave this work till the Master has found and folded his sheep. Pray for Bhot."

tion up the mountains and into Tibet. At an elevation equal to the top of the Matterhorn, he spends the evening, after a a hard day's climb, in cutting out and making a warmer suit of clothes for a shivering, thinly clad servant. He wades ice-cold streams over sharp stones with bare feet frosted and bleeding. He struggles on with Landor over snow and ice up the Mangshan Pass as long as lungs and heart can bear the strain, but at the height of twenty thousand five hundred feet is overcome with pain and exhaustion and obliged to descend, while the explorer pushes on fifteen hundred feet higher, only to find the pass impracticable. Dr. Wilson quiets the mutinous discontent of Landor's followers, parleys with Tibetan officials and soldiers, who order them back to India on pain of death, frightens off brigands with a show of Winchesters and Martinis, sleeps with a loaded rifle at his side, and continually gives the explorer the benefit of his experience, knowledge of the language and the natives, prudence, foresight, and what Landor calls "his perpetual wisdom." When Landor in exasperation brings rifle to shoulder, to fire at Tibetan soldiers, Wilson calmly snatches it out of his hand, thus preventing him from doing a foolish and fatal thing. When, after the retreat from the Mangshan Pass to within sight of the dreary Lumpiya Pass, by which they had crossed into Tibet, the camp followers refused to go on, Dr. Wilson advised Landor to go back to Garbyang for fresh men and supplies; but the explorer declared that if necessary he would proceed alone over the mountains and find his way to Lhassa, the capital of Tibet. The missionary warned and dissuaded him with tears, and when, after all, the daring and resolute traveler, with only a few attendants started again in a raging blizzard at midnight from an elevation of seventeen thousand feet to scale the backbone of the Himalayas and penetrate to the heart of the Forbidden Land, Dr. Wilson went with him some distance through the darkness, the wild storm, and the bitter cold, bade him good-bye with a choking voice, and then turned his face homeward to his work at Gungi and Garbyang, carrying back valuable effects which Landor could not take with him.

He knew no more of the adventurous explorer until many weeks later, when report reached him at Gungi that Landor and his servants had been beheaded by Tibetan officials. With all haste the missionary crossed the Tibetan frontier to Taklakot, where he learned that Landor had been seen near

Mansowar Lake, held captive by the Tibetans, wasted and almost starving, covered with scabs and sores from hideous tortures inflicted by his captors. Dr. Wilson, with other influential persons, interceded with the Jong Pen (Master of the Fort) at Taklakot to secure Landor's release; and on September 8, 1897, the faithful missionary received the unhappy explorer, famished and emaciated beyond recognition, filthy, and covered with vermin, to his own tent, where he washed, fed, and reclothed him, examined and treated his numerous and painful wounds, and nursed him with a woman's tenderness, until the suffering and shattered man was strong enough to be taken over the Lippu Pass (which is higher than the summit of Mont Blanc) to British soil and the shelter of Dr. Wilson's dispensary at Gungi. There again he was nursed until able to start for Bombay and the home of his parents in Florence, Italy.

One more service this Christian physician rendered to the hardy and daring young Englishman. He certified under oath to the horrible condition of Mr. Landor when rescued from the Tibetans, giving detailed medical description of the extent and location of his twenty-two wounds; and also corroborated Landor's account of his travels and sufferings, thus vindicating the explorer's veracity, which was assailed by certain journals because of the astounding particulars of his narrative. His deposition before Mr. J. Larkin, British magistrate at Almora, begins thus: "My name is Harkua Wilson. By caste Christian; forty-six years of age; by occupation a missionary; my home is at Dwarahat, police station M. Dwara, district Almora. I reside at Gungi, Byans."

The second volume of Mr. Landor's extraordinary book gives us at its close another glimpse of Miss Martha A. Sheldon, M.D., when on September 28, more than four months after he, in the bloom of health, had broken bread at her table at Dharchula, she certified to his pitiable condition as it appeared on his return forty days after his tortures, writing her testimony on paper headed:

M. E. Mission.
Khela P. O. Dist. Almora.
East Kumaon. Bhot.

"All at it and always at it."—WESLEY.

We have gathered here from an explorer's note-book some

flash-light pictures, which he caught in passing, of some of our own far-away missionaries, busy at their Master's work with all manner of helpfulness, and not dreaming of being photographed. They themselves would not claim to be exceptional persons, but be content to be used as only typical examples of the missionary breed. The amazing and startlingly realistic narrative of young Mr. Landor, made intensely vivid by its multitude of photographs, has a unique value in the unstudied, incidental, and unconscious way in which its accounts of missionaries whose posts he chanced to pass exhibit the radiancy of Christian character shining against the dull opacity of sensualized human nature around them; the quick, tender sensibilities of Christian men and women contrasted with the stolid and stony insensibility of populations inured to misery and calloused by degradation; the sweet and wholesome cleanliness of Christian living amid the disgusting and pestilential filthiness of the heathen; the beautiful dignity of modesty and mutual respect offset against lewd and shameless indecency; the clear veracity and fine fidelity of Christian missionaries and converts against the deceit and treachery of thieving natives; the blended love and pity of humane Christian ministry in contrast with pagan suspicion, malice, and truculence.

It is probable that no other field of human endeavor can show so large a proportion of lofty characters as the mission field. There the spirit of chivalry perpetuates itself in noblest forms. Emerson said, forty years ago, "Eloquence is dirt cheap on antislavery platforms," and we may say that heroism is as common as is humane benevolence all along the skirmish line of Christian missions. The logic which held early martyrs to the stake, "Christ died for me—I'll die for him," shows just as potent now in holding the missionary to his post of sacrifice and danger. Using every precaution to secure the best human stuff for this most critical and testing work, the Church should trust its missionaries, honor them, and make them feel that behind them is the warm, unfailing, and generous support of a praying, believing, determined, and unanimous Church. That all workers are of equal worthiness is not true in the foreign field as it is not true in the home field, but there is ground for thinking that the higher average is in the mission field. From the first the work and character of missionaries are under careful, constant, and minute scrutiny, known not only to the immediate

local supervision, but also by frequent reports to the Missionary Board and Secretaries at home.

In the actual history and personnel of missions there are numerous warrants for Charlotte Brontë's picture of St. John Rivers, an evangelical clergyman who figures in *Jane Eyre*, and is possessed with what Mrs. Humphry Ward calls "a fanatical enthusiasm for missionary life." (Evangelical zeal, which alone is equal to the arduous, self-sacrificing, and heroic work of missions, always looks fanatical to the comparatively cold and feeble non-evangelical spirit.) *Jane Eyre* closes with these words:

"As to St. John Rivers, he left England; he went to India. He entered on the path he had marked for himself; he pursues it still. A more resolute, indefatigable pioneer never wrought amid rocks and dangers. Firm, faithful, and devoted; full of energy, and zeal, and truth, he labors for the human race; he clears their painful way to improvement; the prejudices of creed and caste that encumber it he hews down like a giant. He may be stern; he may be exacting; he may be ambitious; but his is the sternness of the warrior Great Heart, who guards his pilgrim convoy from the onslaught of Apollyon. His is the exaction of the apostle who speaks but for Christ when he says, 'Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me.' His is the ambition of the high master spirit, which aims to fill a place in the first rank of those who are redeemed from the earth—who stand without fault before the throne of God; who share the last mighty victories of the Lamb; who are called and chosen and faithful. St. John Rivers is unmarried; he will never marry; himself has sufficed to the toil; and the toil draws near its close; his glorious sun hastens to its setting. His last letter drew from my eyes human tears, and yet filled my heart with divine joy; he anticipated his sure reward, his incorruptible crown. I know that a stranger's hand will write to me next, to say that the good and faithful servant has been called at length into the joy of his Lord. And why weep for this? No fear of death will darken his last hour; his mind will be unclouded; his heart will be undaunted; his hope will be sure, his faith steadfast. His own words are a pledge of this: 'My Master,' he says, 'has forewarned me. Daily he announces more distinctly, "Surely I come quickly," and hourly I more eagerly respond, "Amen; even so come, Lord Jesus."'"

THE ARENA.

"THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CURRENT RELIGIOUS UNREST" —A REJOINDER.

My article on the above subject, published in July, 1898, has created, as I am glad to know, not a little interest among the readers of the *Review*. Several have written words of hearty appreciation, and have said that the article ought to make a profound impression throughout the Church. If it has so done I am glad, and hope that the impression was for good and not for evil. But some persons the article has impressed, as I expected it would, quite unfavorably. Adverse criticisms from two such persons have found place in the "Arena." In the main, these criticisms seem fair, and somewhat ably represent the traditional side of the questions discussed in my article.

There is but a simple strand, so far as I can see, running through both criticisms, and that is a frantic plea in behalf of the supernatural. In the "ages of faith," which were also the ages of ignorance and superstition, I can understand the reason and import of such a plea; but in this age of science and light, when men, searching in every direction, are finding not miracles but law, I cannot understand how it is that it should be thought that the more law we have the less we have of God, or how it should be thought that religion can be better built on the corner stone of miracle than it can be on the corner stone of the natural. It must be that many fail to note that, since the ages of faith, the position of things has been reversed. Then, miracles were everywhere, and law was nowhere; now law is everywhere, and miracles are nowhere; that is to say, nowhere recognized now in the present working of things. Is the theologian the only one to whom that fact imports nothing? Is he, of all men, the only one who has no occasion to make concessions to the scientific spirit of the age in which he lives? And if he shall stubbornly refuse to make concessions, is he likely to make converts to his religion, or will he more probably make infidels and atheists? The history of the century just closing should answer that question, in which the most marked progress that Christianity has ever made has been coincident with this age of most marked intellectual and scientific development, and in which, as never before, theology has made concessions to science.

Now, it does seem to the writer that anyone who can rationally explain both our sacred Scriptures and nature so as to reduce the miraculous element to the minimum should be regarded in a friendly way; and I cannot see why Drs. Bilbie and Barnes should fly at me with questions like this: "If you explain this away, then how about that and that?" Why cannot these brethren see that their argument is not advanced at all

by urging in proof of one thing other things that are on the same plane and vouched for in the same way, but rather, that the larger the number of stories which are difficult of belief the greater will be the difficulty of explaining them? And if this be not so, why not add, as helpful to a belief in the miraculous stories about Jesus, those also in the same line about Buddha, Confucius, Zoroaster, and Mohammed? And why not add to the miracles of ancient times, and, as explanatory of them, the miracles of mediæval and modern times? That is what the Roman Catholic does, and in that he is consistent; but, like the average Protestant, he also attempts to prove the fact of miracle in one case by the fact of miracles in other cases; and if we inveigh against his proof of miracles in one case he will ask, "What, then, about the miracles of 'Our Lady of Lourdes,' and what of those of La Salette?" Of course we cannot reason with such men, because their habit is faith, and not reason and logic.

But the real difficulty with my critics, as with others like them, is that God, according to their ideas, is doing nothing in this age of the world, and in the olden times he did nothing in the way of inspiration and revelation and miracle-working except among the Jews. And so. if we urge that God is now inspiring men and revealing himself to them, their reply is that this discredits the fact that he has ever revealed himself to anyone; and if we say that God, in the ages long gone by, revealed himself to other nations besides the Jews, then they say that this is the same as to declare that he never revealed himself to the Jews. To such persons God is not, however they may think of him, "the same yesterday and to-day and forever;" and, because he is not, they can assume that while God works by law now he did not always do so, and that while he did once inspire men and reveal himself to them he is not doing that now. It ought to be plain enough that on those who make such assumptions rests the burden of proof, and that they have plenty to do besides standing around and asking questions. For, if questions are to be asked, I would like to ask some: Do my critics believe that the universe was created out of nothing in six days? Do they believe that the earth is the center of the system of which it is a part, and that it was made before the sun and stars? Do they believe that grass and herbs grew on the earth before the sun was created? Do they believe that the sun stood still over Ajalon at Joshua's command? And do they believe that they who were with Paul on his way to Damascus stood speechless, hearing a voice, but seeing no man, according to Acts ix, 7; or do they believe, according to Acts xxii, 9, that they who were with Paul "heard not the voice," but "saw, indeed, the light?" When my critics have answered these inquiries it will, perhaps, be their turn to ply my argument with questions, but not till then.

The weak point with my critics, as it seems to me, is their clamor for the supernatural, for which just now, through some reason or other, there is such a frantic demand. But to me it seems a much stronger

position to take, that religion is natural. If the worship of higher powers, from a sense of need, be the foundation of all religion, why not hold that this need is natural, as undoubtedly it is, and that therefore the provision to meet that need must be natural also? Why not find a place for religion in the very nature and constitution of things, and so end this quaking fear lest something shall come along that will overthrow it? I commend to my critics John Fiske's argument in his *Through Nature to God*, drawn from evolution in favor of the "everlasting reality of religion." It gives one such a sense of security and rest to know that the foundations cannot possibly be destroyed. That question being settled, others will easily follow. Our reverence for the great Book of our religion will not keep us back from trying to learn all we can as to its origin, its teachings, and the limitations of its use. And if we shall find that Moses, or some one else, in writing the Pentateuch used material that existed in Egypt and Chaldea long before his day, we shall not on that account discredit these writings, and much less shall we exalt them into a supernatural revelation. Neither shall we take myths and legends that were similar and common among all the leading peoples of the world and say that they were everywhere false except among one people; nor shall we say that the great religions were and are everywhere false except the Jewish religion once and the Christian religion now. We may say, however, what we fully believe, that other religions are less perfect than is the Christian, although in that judgment we shall find ourselves voting with the minority. If we cannot take some such position as this, who can defend the evident partiality of the divine administration? For, plainly enough, from the point of view of the traditionists it is sadly in need of defense. But now, if we may look at the Bible as literature—ancient, and even sacred, literature, if you please, but created like other such literature, only being both more poetical and more ethical, and also having a higher and better conception of God than any other, and as being of God through human agencies, some of a high, but some also of a very low, order—such a view would relieve us from the necessity of defending God from much that is recorded in the Bible, of which we know that he could not have been the author. Such a view would forever make it unnecessary, and even impossible, for Brother Bilbie to ask, "Is divine vengeance never just?" How anyone who has ever looked up into the bosom of infinite Love can ask such a question is more than I can understand. Such divine vengeance is a strange thing to be predicated of infinite Love! Certain it is that Jesus did not teach after that fashion: "Be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." I therefore join with Whittier:

> I know not of his hate,
> I know only of his love.

And in the same way my Brother Barnes would be saved from the

necessity of trying to justify the slaughter of the Midianites and the worse than slaughter of their virgin women, by his most unscientific suggestion that God even now slays wicked men by earthquakes and by lightning. Men slay one another often, but God slays man never. True, men die, but death is just as much a part of the economy of God as birth is, and it is just as beneficent. And then, again, lightning—electricity—can no longer be looked upon as a malevolent force, for, since man has harnessed it for such various uses it has proved itself to be as beneficent as it is puissant. But why does Brother Barnes insert that word "wicked?" Does he not know that earthquakes and lightning are as impartial as regards character as God's sun and rain are? Lightning, or electricity, has absolutely no relations to character, or to moral government; it follows the lines of least resistance, and the man who is killed by it is its victim, not because he is wicked, but because he is in its way. And then, if the suggestion of Brother Barnes be intellect, what atrocity can be imagined that could not be justified? Brothers, let us beware! We must not malign God. It is better to let exploded theories go, and to live and to walk in the light as God gives us that light to-day. This means that we should not take our measure of God from men who lived during the childhood period of the race, but that we shall measure him in the light of our manhood knowledge as to what God has done, and therefore as to what God is, not overlooking that revelation of him made through Jesus Christ, of whom alone it may be said that he taught religion in its best and highest form, and that in doing this, so far was he from maligning or contradicting nature that he drew many of his most beautiful illustrations from that source.

Minneapolis, Minn. J. F. CHAFFEE.

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE FOR CHINA.

A SHORT note on this great topic in the July-August *Review* of 1899 suggests a consideration of several questions. Probably the first question that occurs to the majority of *Review* readers is this: Why has there been no more marked result from the circulation of Christian literature in China heretofore? We have long had this literature, and young missionaries especially found great satisfaction in circulating it among the people. It is safe to say that nine out of ten new arrivals on the vast field jump at the chance of selling books in order not to seem utterly useless while studying the language. If these labors prove very discouraging because of the slight visible results the chief fault probably lies in the literature distributed. In order to make books for China one must realize, first, how difficult it is for the Chinese scholar to grasp a new idea; second, how difficult it is to persuade a Chinese writer (and I know of no missionary who does not employ one) to couch the new idea in the simplest ideograph; and, third, that it does not occur to one in a hundred Chinese who are able to read to read in quest of ideas or

facts. They read ideographs, not ideas; "characters" (though this is a foreign term), not books. After your literary Chinese candidate has kept you awake till the "wee sma'" hours of the morning with his diligent studying he stares at you in blank amazement if you venture to ask him the meaning of what he has been reading. "Meaning! As if it were not sufficient toil to learn the form of the characters and the order in which the author has placed them!" Searching for the idea is as strange to him as riding a bicycle. No Chinese scholar, no matter how learned he may be from the purely native standpoint, can read a book on religious or scientific topics in our sense of the word unless he has been personally instructed either by the foreigner or by the foreigner's pupil. The ideograph is a splendid instrument for locking up ideas so that the living teacher becomes absolutely indispensable. A lad who has studied ten years in a mission school is able to teach a viceroy in reading the modern newspaper printed at Shanghai. And unless the idea is securely locked away in an abstruse style the Chinese graduate casts the book aside as trashy. Opinions differ greatly among missionaries as to what may or may not be expressed by the use of the ideograph, but the slowness with which Western ideas have spread among the reading Chinese shows plainly that the task of getting an idea into ideographic composition is not so great as the task of getting it out. A bright young student of our Anglo-Chinese College was asked to consider the following proposition and give his opinion: "Two Chinese lads, equally intelligent, begin their studies when eight years of age, one studying by means of the ideograph (so-called 'classic'), the other through the medium of the English language, of which he knows not a word to begin with. Now after ten years of equally diligent studying, under equally able teachers, these lads are called up to read the Bible to an audience in their native village. Which is likely to read more intelligently?" (Of course in both cases the "reading" means translating.) His reply was, "The boy who has studied English." To add another incident by way of explanation. One of our oldest ordained native preachers recently spoke with much delight of the benefit he was receiving from having his daughter read to him the well-known tract called *The Christian Secret of a Happy Life*. He said, "I never saw the Scriptures made so plain before." "But," I said, "that book has been translated and printed in Chinese these ten years." "Ah," he replied, "it is all so new and fresh. I know it has long been in print, and I have it in my library, but it seems when anything good is put into our ideograph the meaning is blunted, or *runs away*." "But you do not read English," I replied. "No, but my daughter does, and she just talks it to me in my native dialect; *it is truly good!*" The longer I am in China the more I am convinced that the good has in a large measure been the enemy of the best—that China must have an alphabetic literature before sweeping reforms can be inaugurated. The ideograph is used for essay writing, for poetry, calendars,

edicts and proclamations, deeds and mortgages. The moment one attempts to write something not coming under these heads the war of words begins, and ideas are expressed *approximately*—"aimed at."

If a second question is asked it is likely this: How is it then that this literature now begins to produce such encouraging results? I reply, because of the prolonged presence and labors of the living teacher and interpreter, and because of the multitude of his pupils. In a word, the ideograph would have been limited for all time to come to the above uses had it not been for the emancipating energy of the mission schools. But to this day it remains a disputed question whether this emancipation does not cost more time and labor even now than it would cost to teach the Chinese—what the race was three thousand years in learning—to say A, B, C.

Antau, China. F. OHLINGER.

LINCOLN AND TEMPERANCE.

FIVE minutes after reading Lincoln's temperance address delivered at Springfield, Ill., February 22, 1842, I happened to pick up Mr. Thompson's delightful article on "Abraham Lincoln and Temperance," in the *Review* for January, 1899. But I could not help wondering how he could assign Lincoln's references to the drinking usages of society to "later years" than 1859 (page 11), while it is a part of the speech from which he quotes on page 15, and which bears date 1842.

It seems to me that it greatly strengthens Lincoln's position and Mr. Thompson's article to remember that at the age of thirty-three years Lincoln was fully aware of the breadth and strength of the drinking customs of society, and of the force and effects of public opinion; and that his position was deliberately chosen and publicly declared ere he began to ascend the ladder of fame. That he had weighed all these matters carefully, and counted the cost accurately, appears in that same speech when he asks a man "what compensation he will accept to go to church some Sunday and sit during the sermon with his wife's bonnet upon his head!" Lincoln continues, "Not a trifle, I'll venture. And why not? There would be nothing irreligious in it, nothing immoral, nothing uncomfortable—then why not? Is it not because there would be something egregiously unfashionable in it? Then it is the influence of fashion; and what is the influence of fashion but the influence that other people's actions have on our own actions—the strong inclination each of us feels to do as we see all our neighbors do?"

Now if we sandwich this between his description of the drinking customs of his day and his prophecy of their final overthrow—as Lincoln did—and remember that they were all delivered in the same address at the beginning of his public life, we shall have a still clearer insight into the sort of stuff Lincoln was made of. WILLIAM POWICK.

Manayunk, Philadelphia, Pa.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

PUTTING OFF THE ARMOR.

On Sunday, November 19, Dr. R. S. Storrs sent to the congregation of the Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, his resignation as its pastor. Like his colaborer for a quarter of a century in the same city, Dr. Cuyler, he steps aside from the path which he has so long trodden when he feels that his strength is no longer equal to his great responsibility, and cheerfully accepts the order of Providence at the time when there is no friction or dissatisfaction on his part or on that of his people which should lead him to lay aside his task. His letter begins with the keen regret with which he finds himself unable to conduct his usual services, and continues:

"It is, as you know, more than fifty-four years since I entered on the public ministry of the Gospel, in October, 1845. For fifty-three of these years, since November 19, 1846, it has been my singular happiness to be the sole pastor of this distinguished church, without associate or assistant, except as honored brothers in the ministry have successively supervised our fruitful mission work in the chapel, and have otherwise rendered occasional important service. Continuing health on my part, with your continuing kindness, and with the constant favor of God toward us, has made this long active pastorate possible.

"In the last two years, however—since the great sorrow, of which you know, broke suddenly into my life—I have been not infrequently aware that the self-renewing force, mental and physical, in which I had before rejoiced, had been seriously diminished, so that duties, at home and abroad, always till then delightful, were becoming laborious, while especially the initiative and stimulating impulse of the pastor in church activities, constituting perhaps his most important function, was plainly beginning to surpass my strength. . . .

"It has thus become apparent to me, under these admonitions, that, on this anniversary, before any further warning of weakness, I ought to resign into your hands the pastoral office which your fathers and grandfathers so long ago committed to me, and in the fulfillment of whose duties has been hitherto the gladness of my life. I do, therefore, hereby so resign it; and ask you promptly and cheerfully to accept the resignation and to unite with me in whatever measures may be needed to ratify and complete it.

"Beyond this release from duties which are evidently ere long to be impossible for me, I desire, my dear friends, to leave everything concerning our future relations entirely in your hands. If it should be your united desire that I remain connected with the church as its pastor *emeritus*, ready to perform any desired occasional services, while wholly

freed from general responsibility, I shall cordially accept that arrangement. If, on the other hand, it shall seem to you wiser, as easily it may, that my relation to the church be henceforth only that of a private member, leaving to him who shall come after me a position wholly unembarrassed by any remaining official character in myself, I shall fully accept your thought concerning it and sympathetically approve your action. My only desire is that the Master's work shall continue to be done here as we together have striven to do it amid the changing environments of the past; that under a leader of earnest faith and unknown vigor, in whom your hearts shall safely trust, and on whom God's blessing shall abide, the church which we have together loved and served may face with new consecration the many duties and front without fear the many problems to be encountered in years to come. It is not for me longer to lead in its collective movement, to put needed energy into its ever-enlarging work, to guide it through or over the swells of influence, adverse or helpful to the Gospel, which are to surround it, or to try to make it an ever-fresh power for beauty and welfare in the city. . . .

"If to-day were offered to me choice of a pathway in life the most alluring and rewarding, I should choose none other than that which has been given me—the pathway of a Christian pastor, joyfully trying to bring to men the grace and glory of the Lord's Gospel. If the choice of any place for Christian labor were again set before me, I could choose no other than this city, so long the object of my joyful affection and pride; than this church, in which my heart's life has so tenderly and deeply been garnered up.

"May God still have us in his holy keeping till the end of life on earth has come, and then open to us in his unspeakable grace the gates of the immortal temple, and unto him be all the praise."

It is too soon—and may the time be far distant—before it will be necessary to write the biography of this distinguished preacher of the Gospel. It may be well, however, for younger ministers to note some characteristics of the man who has laid aside his armor with such dignity and grace and sweetness. In giving an estimate of Dr. Storrs it is well to remember that his whole life has been spent in preaching to a congregation well known for its culture and liberality. He has had his difficulties, of course—all preachers must have them—yet he has had but little contact with the rougher side of life. He has never been a frontier preacher, among people gathered from various nationalities, nor has he ministered in struggling churches. Perhaps critics will say that he has been a preacher to the classes rather than the masses—it being a well-known fact that the contributions of his noble congregation to the welfare of humanity during fifty years have been one million five hundred thousand dollars. His environments have undoubtedly molded the character of his preaching, and have given him opportunities for the culture of a literary style quite unusual.

Perhaps the first characteristic, therefore, by which Dr. Storrs has been known is that of finished address. He has not employed large words, nor has he been guilty of pedantry in pulpit utterance. But he has manifested a classic diction and a clearness of thought and expression which belonged to the ancient Greek culture. His mind by nature and training is refined, and in his preaching he has expressed the rich truths of the Gospel in rare language. It has been thought that his style has been too finished for the mass of people, and yet all who have heard him, whether learned or ignorant, have been impressed that he is a model preacher of the Gospel. In style he stands among our American preachers as Canon Liddon among English preachers, both of them being scholars and cultured in thought and diction, with the one marked difference between them, that Canon Liddon uniformly read his sermons, while Dr. Storrs has preached without notes.

Further, it is worthy of note that Dr. Storrs in the midst of his pastoral labors has produced literary works which have been highly esteemed. The following among his writings have been mentioned by the press: *Graham Lectures on the Wisdom, Power, and Goodness of God, as Manifested in the Constitution of the Human Soul; The Condition of Success in Preaching without Notes; The American Spirit and the Genesis of It; The Declaration of Independence and the Effect of It; John Wycliff and the First English Bible; Recognition of the Supernatural in Letters and Life; Manliness in the Scholar;* and *The Divine Origin of Christianity Indicated by Its Historical Effects.* It is to be observed that these and other writings have not been the result of an ambition for literary success on the part of Dr. Storrs, but have been followed in the orderly course of his studies of the sacred Scriptures and cognate topics. Throughout his long life he has been first and chiefly a preacher. His literary work has always been subordinated to his main purpose to preach the Gospel.

He has also been profoundly interested in missionary work, and as the President of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions he guided its affairs with remarkable success in the midst of great difficulties. As a citizen of Brooklyn he has ever been held in high esteem. He has shown a great wisdom in his relation to public affairs. While never partisan in political affairs, on questions of public interest he has been heard with great satisfaction. His citizenship has been broad and courageous, as he has identified himself with what he has regarded as the best interests of the people.

It is not the purpose of this paper to analyze the character or services of Dr. Storrs. It is too early to do that. He is not yet laid aside from work, but is only putting off the armor of the public responsibilities which he has borne so long, and is thus enabling himself in a quieter but not less useful way to go on working for his Master. We simply call attention to his resignation as an important incident in modern Church history. It is no insignificant matter, in these restless times,

when a man lays aside his pastoral work after a service of fifty-three years with the same congregation. Perhaps we shall not soon see its like again. Whether the old times of long pastorates will return to those Churches which have a settled ministry we know not. Certain it is that the retirement of Dr. Storrs offers an opportunity for earnest reflection, and that his career will prove a valuable study for the younger ministry of the day.

THE POTTER AND THE CLAY—INTERPRETATION AS AFFECTED BY ALLUSIONS—Rom. ix, 21–23.

The New Testament abounds in allusions to Old Testament history, and many passages can only be interpreted in the light of their historic reference. The writers assume on the part of their readers a thorough acquaintance with the history to which these allusions refer. Nor can a careful student of the New Testament fail to notice this familiarity with the Old Testament Scriptures which the writers possess, and assume on the part of their readers.

This is particularly the case with Paul. The Epistle to the Romans abounds in quotations and allusions which are intended to enforce his elaborate arguments. So, an allusion which has led to much effort at interpretation is that of the potter and the clay, in Rom. ix, 21–23. Two things are necessary in order properly to interpret those allusions whose import does not lie on the surface: first, an understanding of the line of thought of which the allusion forms a part; and, second, a thorough knowledge of its original setting and application. The passage in the apostle's thought is no doubt Jer. xviii, 1–10. This extract contains first an expression of divine power: "Behold, as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in mine hand, O house of Israel." Like other portions of this chapter, the reference is to the nation and not to individuals: "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation" (verse 7). It is further stated that this proclamation of Jeremiah was intended as a warning, and not as a final exclusion from salvation because of a divine act. "Arise, and go down to the potter's house, and there I will cause thee to hear my words" (verse 2). It is also shown in Jeremiah that the clay in the illustration was not impassive material, without thought or volition, but a nation who had voluntarily sinned and must voluntarily repent and turn to God.

At this point the setting of the passage in Jeremiah becomes apparent. If the verses in Romans were considered by themselves, it would seem as if the persons referred to were mere subjects of divine power, and that their condition was entirely apart from their own volition. But, if we turn to Jeremiah, we find an explanation which relieves us of any idea that God regarded his people as passive clay whose destiny he controlled without reference to their own character and conduct. "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a king-

dom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant it; if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good, wherewith I said I would benefit them" (verses 7-10). On this point Whedon says: "Thus the clay was the house of Israel; according as were their temper and conduct would they be molded into a vessel of honor or dishonor. So that the very clay is a living free agent, the Potter is a wise, impartial, divine Reason, and the being made a vessel of honor or dishonor is conditioned upon the voluntary temper and doing of the agent."

Further, Rom. ix, 22–24, enforces the same need: "[God] endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction." By whom they were fitted for destruction has been much in dispute. The verb translated "fitted" may in the Greek be either in the middle or the passive voice. If the former, it would mean, "Who fitted themselves for destruction;" if the latter, they were fitted by some power external to themselves. The former is the view of Chrysostom and others. Meyer affirms that God "fitted them for destruction." The passage says, however, that they were vessels of wrath, and as such were fitted for destruction. Their being vessels of wrath—sinful in the sight of God—was antecedent to the destruction which was to come upon them for their sins. Gifford in his Commentary affirms that the description, "'vessels of wrath fitted to destruction,' was eminently applicable to the Jewish nation in St. Paul's day." He says, "Both factors, God's probationary judgments and man's perverse will, conduced to the result, and it is the result only that is herein expressed by the participle." Sanday's paraphrase of verse 22 is: "But what becomes of your talk of injustice, when you consider how he has acted? Although a righteous God would desire to exhibit the divine power and wrath in a world of sin, even though he were dealing with those who were fit objects of his wrath and had become fitted for destruction, yet he bore with them, full of long-suffering for them."

The purpose of the passage is to emphasize "God's freedom of action," and brings into view the sublime plan of God for salvation in providing a way of faith by which Jew and Gentile might alike become the participants of God's favor. When it is carefully viewed, this passage is another link in the chain by which Paul establishes the divine right to save men by faith, instead of by legalism or national privilege. It is but another illustration of the fact that a careful study of the Old Testament in the light of the New is very important, as also that of the New in the light of the Old. Allusions of this kind should be received as understood by the writer and reader alike, and a careful comparison of the related passage will be helpful in correct exegesis.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ARCHÆOLOGY.

THOUGH the past year has not been fertile in new discoveries in the field of biblical archæology, yet during no period of our century has there been manifested a greater interest in this branch of study; and though no monuments or inscriptions have been unearthed which throw new light upon the sacred pages, yet the many objects discovered, together with the old materials, have been studied during the past twelve months with unusual zeal and by a greater number of students than ever before. Not only have individual scholars and learned societies in Europe and America been devoting much of their time to archæological research, but several well-equipped groups of specialists have been diligently engaged in excavating promising fields in several Bible lands. Scarcely a week passes without discovering valuable treasures which, though not revealing many new facts, yet afford additional light which tends to strengthen and confirm former deductions. A number of Assyriologists and Egyptologists have been busily at work in London, Paris, Berlin, Constantinople, Gizeh, and elsewhere in deciphering and classifying the various finds from different fields, and in placing these monuments in such shape as to make them more accessible to the ever-increasing number of oriental scholars in Europe and America.

No one has done more to popularize the study of archæology than Professor Hilprecht, of Philadelphia, who for this reason is better known to the general public as an archæologist than any other scholar of his rank. His monthly contributions to the *Sunday-School Times* are always fresh, instructive, and reliable. His experiences at Nippur, where he is now and will be for some months, and where in times past he was associated with other scholars in carrying on excavations among the ruins of the very ancient temple of Bel, have been of great value to him. So also his extensive acquaintance with the great museums and the noted archæologists of the world has contributed much to his success. Moreover, he enjoys the confidence of the sultan of Turkey to such a degree as to afford him access to the most valuable treasures of the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. Our readers need not be told that almost all the important discoveries of the recent past which are of interest to biblical students have been on Turkish soil. The same may be said of most excavations now in progress. Moreover, all the antiquities discovered within the sultan's dominions are legally the property of the Turkish government. The law governing this matter, as may be seen by this extract from the imperial statutes, is very explicit and rigid: "The remains left by the ancient populations of the States forming at present the dominions of the Ottoman empire—that is to say, the gold, silver, and other

ancient coins, and the inscriptions containing reference to history, and statues and sepultures and ornamental objects in clay, stone, and other materials, utensils, arms, tools, statuettes, ring-stones, temples, palaces, circuses, theaters, fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, bodies and objects in tombs, burying mounds, mausoleums, and columns—are regarded as antiquities." After this express and lengthy definition of antiquities we find another comprehensive statement, namely, that "all the antiquities discovered in the Ottoman territory, be it on the surface, underground, or exhumed, picked up in the sea, the lakes, the rivers, the streams, or the valleys are the property of the government." We further read that foreigners authorized to carry on excavations in any part of the Ottoman empire have only the right to take drawings or molds of the object discovered, and that under no condition may anything be imported unless the Museum already possesses a duplicate of the same. In view of these laws, the opportunities of Professor Hilprecht and the advantages offered the University of Pennsylvania for securing duplicates can scarcely be overestimated.

Another American who has enjoyed great facilities for oriental study and has made excellent use of his opportunities is Professor Craig. He has spent a good portion of the past few years in studying the rich collections at the British Museum. His translations of the cuneiform inscriptions are models of scholarship and accuracy. A small volume edited by him, just out of the press, is entitled *Astrological-Astronomical Texts, Copied from Original Tablets in the British Museum.* This work is of interest only to the very few who possess a reading knowledge of the original. Professor Sayce, very justly, it seems to us, criticises Professor Craig and others engaged in similar work for not furnishing an English version of the texts copied by them. Indeed, the Oxford Assyriologist maintains that every attempt at translation on the part of a competent scholar, however tentative or imperfect it may be, is a furtherance to the study of Assyriology and an assistance to those who come after us. Professor Sayce, however, may be, at least partially, to blame for what he chooses to style "the pernicious habit" of the younger Assyriologists who do not accompany their texts with translations, for he himself has too often rushed into print with very defective work. Time and again has he manifested undue haste in deciphering inscriptions and translating them, only to be ridiculed by slower but more careful scholars. Those familiar with archæological criticism know full well how unmercifully Professor Craig has criticised his English critic in the matter of faulty translations. We are therefore not surprised at a little manifestation of human nature on the part of Sayce, who gently insinuates that Professor Craig's failure to give a translation of the texts just published is "due either to excess of modesty or deficiency of knowledge." Professor Craig is also engaged in editing for a large publishing house in this country a "Series of Handbooks in Semitics." One volume has already appeared; the others, eleven or more, are to follow at short

intervals. This first book of the series is by Professor Sayce, and treats of the everyday life and domestic customs of the ancient Babylonians. As the professor has already written so much on these topics, no one must be disappointed if he finds but little that is really new in these pages. The writers of the remaining volumes include the names of Glazer, Hilprecht, Hommel, McCurdy, and others less known.

But among the most important contributions to the study of biblical antiquities, during the past few months, are the large number of articles written by some of the foremost archæologists for the two new Bible dictionaries now passing through the press. Those alone on Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt published in one of these dictionaries with little amplification might be made into a good-sized volume. In these are discussed, in the light of the most recent discoveries, questions pertaining to the religion, history, chronology, language, literature, and the international relations of the peoples and countries to which reference is made in the Bible. These volumes when completed will be of incalculable value to every student of history and archæology. The less pretentious volume published by Professor Davis, with the cooperation of several colleagues at Princeton, must not be passed unnoticed. The articles in this smaller *Dictionary of the Bible* are naturally shorter, but in all other regards they are the equals of those in the larger works above mentioned. Indeed, every page displays a wonderful knowledge of the records and monuments left by the nations in and around Palestine. The whole book is not only erudite and trustworthy, but is also permeated with a spirit of fairness, and is entirely evangelical—just such a book as we would like to see in the hands of the young people of our churches. This little dictionary is also a clear demonstration that not a few of the most eminent biblical scholars in the United States are still true to the faith of the fathers, and have not been carried away by the vagaries of Wellhausen and his school.

Another book, written in much the same spirit and by a very competent scholar, is *The Monuments and the Old Testament*, by Professor Price. The object of this timely volume is to furnish an answer to the question, "Where shall I find in concise form the best reliable information furnished by the monuments illustrative of the Old Testament?" The thoroughness of discussion, the perspicuity of style, the absence of wild speculation, and the religious spirit of the book cannot be too highly recommended. It is a capital manual of archæology, and should find a place in every study.

Here we may call attention to a volume, edited by D. G. Hogarth, entitled *Authority and Archæology*. As the title-page indicates, this book is composite, the several parts being the work of specialists. Mr. Hogarth has the chapter on "Prehistoric Greece," and Professor Gardner the one on "Historic Greece." Mr. Haverfield writes concerning the Roman world, while F. Llewellyn Griffith treats of Assyria and Egypt, and Mr. Headlam discusses archæology in its relation to the

early Christian Church. Judging from the number of pages devoted to the several topics, the most important by far—that referring to the Old Testament and archæology—is intrusted to Professor Driver, who, though not a professed archæologist and not as well versed in Assyriology and Egyptology as many others, has nevertheless, owing to his intimate knowledge of Old Testament criticism, shown great familiarity with the subjects considered. His presentation of the case is very full, and, from his standpoint, very fair. Knowing his strong leaning to the methods and teachings of the new school of biblical criticism, we have no right to expect him to be as enthusiastic as the more conservative wing regarding the value of archæological testimony. Indeed, we go further, for we think that Professor Driver underestimates the services of archæology, and is thus too often inclined to reduce its testimony to a minimum.

A work entirely different in character is the recent volume from the pen of the Rev. C. J. Ball, very appropriately called, *Light from the East.* This is probably the best introduction to biblical archæology yet published in our language. The author is well known as a scholar of eminent qualifications for such a work. Having devoted many years to the study of archæology in its various branches, and being a Semitic scholar of no mean repute, he is prepared to give almost everything in the book at first hand. He does not write as an apologist, nor does he directly aim "to confirm the Scriptures." Indeed, he frankly avows that the Bible is in no need of either apology or confirmation. And yet no student of the Holy Bible can read very far in the book without realizing that the monuments discovered during the present century throw a world of light upon a large portion of the Hebrew Scriptures, and that many an argument of the destructive critics has been scattered to the four winds by recent research in Bible lands. As Mr. Ball observes, the documents, gathered together by him and illustrated in this book, "afford ample proof of the general trustworthiness of Israelitish history, so far as it is the work of writers who lived in or near to the times which they describe. And even when that is not the case Hebrew tradition gains a relative justification, sufficient to satisfy all reasonable minds, by the demonstration that it is not due to the idle imaginings of ignorant and prejudiced priests and storytellers; a demonstration which is effected by tracing it to its origin in more ancient Semitic legend, or by comparing it with the parallel accounts of the older and more or less kindred races."

These parallels between the religious ideas of the ancient Semites in Babylonia and Assyria, to say nothing of Phœnicia and its colonies—as illustrated upon the monuments and in the documents here reproduced—and those of the Hebrews as presented in the Old Testament, are many and striking. It is astonishing how numerous the coincidences are, even in language, to say nothing of the thought, between some of the oldest Semitic documents and the Hebrew Scriptures.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

AT THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The growth of the Christian community in the world has been so frequently set forth in what may be considered approximate estimates that it scarcely seems worth while to refer to them, and yet one has to remember that these statements often make but slight impression and that it becomes necessary to repeat the utterance till the truth makes its permanent impression. We are accustomed to think of the marvelous extension of the Christian community during the first three centuries of our era as one of the strongest collateral evidences of the divinity of our religion. And yet the aggregate Christian population was probably more than 5,000,000 at the opening of the fourth century. But the number doubled before the fourth century closed; in the next six centuries it became fivefold what it was at the end of the fourth, or 50,000,000. At the end of the fifteenth century it had doubled again, and at the end of the eighteenth century there were in the world 200,000,000 nominal Christians. By 1888 the number had more than doubled again, and in the past two decades it has advanced twenty-five per cent, till at the turning of the century it is a moderate estimate to write down that the Christian population of the globe is 500,000,000.

It is not so much the fact that this number constitutes one third of the aggregate population of the world which attracts attention as it is that the increase in the nineteenth century has been so rapid. Within the century the world's population by the quite exact census-taking of Christian governments has been proven to be five hundred and more millions in advance of what it was a century since. And within this same period the Christians, who number one third of the population of the world, have come into the government of two thirds of that population. This is exclusive of the so-called "partition of Africa." The great bulk of the world's area, sea and land, has changed hands within the past century, and the change has been from non-Christian to Christian rulership. We do not assume to be stating news. Nor do we affect the role of informant when we mention the subdivision between the two or three sections of Christendom—the Roman Catholic, the Greek Catholic, and the Protestant—and write down, though it be for the hundredth time, that the shift of political balance has been in favor of Protestantism. When there were 100,000,000 of the world's population governed by Roman Catholic potentates at the end of the fifteenth century Protestantism, as it has since been named, was not born, and, historically speaking, was not a quantity. One hundred years and more ago Protestantism ruled 157,000,000, and Romanism 154,000,000. At the close of the nineteenth century Protestantism, as represented by its political integers, governs

520,000,000 people as against the Roman Catholic rule of over 243,000,000. This is not written as a ground for Christian elation, much less for Protestant rejoicing. It is rather to call attention to the responsibilities under which Protestants enter the new century.

PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER'S ADVICE TO THE BRAHMO-SOMAJES.

THE professor has been talking in a sensible way to the Brahmo-Somajes of India through P. C. Mozoomdar. It is not to be expected that all Christians will agree in the exposition he gives of the Christian Church and the Christian missionary, nor in his advice to the Somajes to organize themselves as another branch of Christendom. What will interest many Christians is the assumption of Professor Müller that outside of the missions in India one great result of the presence of Christianity is the domination of the Gospel over the mind and heart of a vast number of the highly educated people of India and of the more intelligent classes in general. He assumes that they constitute a Christian community, accepting the gospels, according to the light they have, as their highest guide, and Jesus Christ as the highest revelation of the deity. Extremes should meet. Bishop Thoburn and others reach down to the low-caste fifty millions of India, take them into the Christian fold on the slenderest acquaintance with Christian dogma, because they abandon idolatry and accept Christ, and put them under conditions where they acquire greater knowledge as to what the Gospel is and what it demands of them. Max Müller would have the Brahmo-Somajes, at the other extreme, organize themselves as a Christian communion, "not as though" they "had already attained," but as having no other religion but that of the gospels. In referring to the objection that these semi-Christian, educated Hindus do not know how to decide between the conflicting claims of the several religious sects of Christendom, Professor Müller says, through Mr. Mozoomdar, to them:

"I fully agree with you, and every true Christian must feel it as a disgrace that the messengers sent to you to explain the truth of the Christian religion should contradict, nay, should anathematize each other before your very eyes. To my mind the points on which these missionaries differ are as nothing compared to the points on which they agree. But we cannot expect you to see that, and I can well understand why you hesitate to join a house that is divided against itself. But what I say to ourselves and to our missionaries and the societies that send them out, 'Agree among yourselves before you expect others to agree with you,' I say to you also: 'Settle your differences among yourselves. Your differences are really far less important than those that separate us. Think what you have already achieved. You have surrendered polytheism, idolatry, and your belief in the divine inspiration of the Veda. What are your remaining differences compared with what you have already given up?' Besides, if you are once united among

yourselves you need no longer trouble about this or that missionary, whether he come from London, Rome, Geneva, or Moscow. They all profess to bring you the Gospel of Christ. Take, then, the New Testament and read it for yourselves and judge for yourselves whether the words of Christ, as contained in it, satisfy you or not. I know that you yourself, as well as Ram Mohun Roy and Keshub Chunder Sen, have done that. I know one countryman of yours who wrote a searching criticism on the Old and New Testaments, and then joined the Christian Church as established in England because there was something in the teaching and life of Christ which he could not withstand. I know this is not an argument, yet it is something to reflect on."

THE GENERAL MISSIONARY COMMITTEE.

THE General Missionary Committee is, on the whole, the most important body in Methodism subject to the General Conference. It is interesting to note the modifications in its methods of doing business that have developed within the past quarter of a century. Originally it met as a "committee," the members sitting around a council board as a body of bank directors might, the public not being in attendance, though not excluded. Oratory was not then common, other than that incident to close and calm argument. Yet, occasionally, there would be a great appeal to the members, like the noted plea of Bishop Janes for Africa, or the address of Bishop Simpson on some question of administration, or the argument of Bishop Gilbert Haven for the establishment of a mission in Italy. There was in those days no audience, and no "talking to the galleries" for effect, nor did the press give out these proceedings to the public. Since the reporting of these meetings in the Church papers and in the daily secular press, and since the larger audiences assemble, this has been modified. The result, on the whole, has been advantageous. There has been a far greater circulation of information, though there has been some disadvantage in the publication of policies, successes, failures, and defects—this publication, it is said, having sometimes been taken advantage of by the opponents of mission work on the foreign field among Moslems and Roman and Greek Catholics. It is, however, distinctly a Protestant way, as contrasted with the esoteric methods of Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics, and Mohammedans, and, in the long run, finds in the public intelligent approval. There are a few things, however, which might be eliminated, such as the discussion of the personal character of missionaries for whom appropriations are asked.

The Constitution of the Missionary Society originally appointed New York city as the place for holding the yearly sessions of the Committee. This rule was changed to admit of its convening in different places, that the influence of its sessions might be more widely disseminated. The change has had a varying result. When the Committee met in Kansas City the preachers there arranged for the entertainment of some two hundred

pastors who were in attendance on the meetings. In some other localities the meetings have made but meager impression, and nowhere has their influence been less felt than in New York city, where the sessions are well-nigh unnoticed in the midst of many matters competing for public attention.

Several important changes are now observable in the methods of doing business. There is no longer room for jealousy between the home and foreign departments of the work as to the amount of time given to their consideration. For many years the foreign fields were uniformly considered first, consumed most of the time, and with the lack of checks then existing were thought to get more than their share of the money. Since the great and exhaustive debate at Kansas City the custom has been to determine in advance a ratio of the bulk appropriations for the two departments and to alternate in precedence of consideration. Much time was consumed for some years in contention over the cash account of the treasurer, which then included "annuities." Such dissimilar views were held about this item that it was taken out of the treasurer's annual statement to the Committee and was printed separately. Another great change brought about by direction of the General Conference is that the total appropriation must not exceed the aggregate receipts of the preceding year. This has eliminated the great debates on the amount to be appropriated. But, in the severely mechanical work to which the Committee has as a consequence seemed limited, they have found the way to make some large specific appropriations "contingent on the money being contributed for this purpose." Expansion has thus been possible; the treasurer has received such contributions "in trust," and they have been sacredly held for the uses named. The fluctuation of the income from bequests has ever been embarrassing to missionary societies. The American Board, for instance, with an increase in its other donations, had this year such a falling off in legacies that it reported a debt larger than it had at the beginning of the year. This variable quantity from bequests has endangered the regularity of the receipts. But the taking of an average in the receipts from estates for five or ten years preceding has been found to give a reliable quantity to be appropriated.

There is possibly room for still further improvement. When as a preface to the consideration of each class of work some general presentation of the whole work of that class is had, the Committee is put in a better state to judge of the items as they come up in order. This order has been partially observed in regard to the work in each foreign country. In 1898 the addresses of Bishop Foss, Bishop Joyce, Dr. Goucher, and others are memorable. In November, 1899, the address of Bishop Warren on South America, that of Bishop McCabe on Mexico, and that of Dr. Carroll on Porto Rico will long be remembered by the members of the Committee and the audience which listened. It might be better for the Committee not to hear all of these addresses in advance, but to announce the time of their delivery to the public.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Johannes Müller. The patience with which the German world of scholars hears whatever anyone has to say finds a good illustration in the attention given to the theories of Müller concerning the origin of the personal Christianity of the Pauline congregations. Müller endeavors to strike out a new path of research, avoiding such externalities as religious doctrines, institutions, and ceremonies, and confining himself to the essence of primitive Christianity, that is, to the processes by which the soul becomes Christian. He claims that until this task is accomplished the real origin of Christianity cannot be understood. In the attempt to describe this inner process he makes the Gospel the exciting cause. The missionary proclamation of the Gospel preceded, as he thinks, the later instruction in doctrine. Yet the Gospel, as Paul conceived and proclaimed it for missionary purposes, was not, he holds, the content of the divine message, but the proclamation of facts, and especially the divine purpose to save man and the divine demand of obedience on the part of man. Just here he becomes so murky in his thought that it is impossible to see what he is aiming at. For he includes in the list of facts what everyone else calls the doctrines of God as the living God, in contradistinction from the idols; the universal sinfulness of men, as well as individual guilt; Jesus as the Christ and as the Son; the central event of his death and resurrection in our behalf; the divine rulership of Jesus; the requirement of the obedience of faith, and of repentance; the offer of reconciliation, pardon, and salvation; and the return of Jesus to judgment. It is true, Müller thinks that Paul's manner of preaching was to avoid the intellectual aspect of these "facts," but still they are in several instances incapable of being distinguished from doctrines, and even those "facts" which can be so distinguished could not have produced their designed effect had they not been presented first of all to the intellect. He thinks the result of the preaching was that the hearers were filled with an instinctive certainty full of joy, enthusiasm, and even of passionateness. The individual hearer submitted himself to the divine authority and grace, and yielded all his claims to earthly honors. The teaching came later. Paul does, indeed, profess to preach wisdom only to those that are perfect; but his sermons as reported show a far more intellectual character than Müller gives them.

C. F. Nösgen. It is a general relief from the monotony of Old Testament criticism among the Germans to find here and there one who, like Nösgen, believes in the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. Still, even he

admits the documentary hypothesis; only it was Moses, not a later writer, who united the documents into one. His great argument in favor of the Mosaic authorship is the alleged testimony of Jesus on the subject. To his mind theology and history are bound to heed this testimony. He affirms that whoever believes that the Spirit dwelt in Jesus without measure must admit the inner harmony of the books of Moses with those of the prophets, and must grant the truly prophetical character of the Pentateuchal law. Nösgen declares that the New Testament treats the general and particular facts of the Pentateuch as adapted to the furtherance of the knowledge of the way of salvation and to the strengthening of faith. He further asserts that the judgment which Jesus expressed as to the law, the history, and origin of the Pentateuch was in the highest sense the product of the immeasurable fullness of the Spirit possessed by Jesus, and hence assures us of the fundamental authority of the Pentateuch for the knowledge of the whole process of divine revelation. We think Nösgen right in saying that both theology and history must take note of the testimony of Jesus relative to the authorship of the Pentateuch, though, as far as history is concerned, no notice can be taken of the presence of the Spirit in Christ. History does not ask why a man knows, but whether he knows. The intelligence of Jesus was great on all matters pertaining to the divine life in man. The uprightness of his character would forbid his speaking on a theme with which he did not believe himself acquainted. As a consequence, if the language of Jesus relative to the Mosaic authorship and historical significance of the Pentateuch may be justly construed as an expression of his belief in the same, then all who believe in the absolute integrity of Jesus must attach great weight to what he says, and to all such it will probably be decisive. The mere historian ought not to complain of this, for professedly he seeks all sources of information. His only way out is to deny that Jesus meant to express himself on the point at issue, or else to deny that he had the knowledge requisite to an authoritative opinion. Passing by the latter alternative, which has an ugly look, it must be said that those who deny that Jesus meant to express himself thereby destroy the force of the appeal to Jesus. For, as soon as it is questioned with any show of reason whether Jesus meant to express his opinion, his alleged testimony is shaken, not by belittling him, but by the more courteous process of interpretation.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Skizzen und Vorarbeiten (Sketches and Studies). By J. Wellhausen. Berlin, G. Reimer, 1899. Wellhausen manages to keep the theological world busy. In his *Israelitish and Jewish History*, published a few years ago, he raised a question concerning the term "Son of man" which has since been much discussed. All thoughtful students have

felt the difficulties connected with the term, and it has been thought that by going back to the Aramaic equivalent a solution might be found. The final outcome, however, has been that the investigators have cut the Gordian knot by declaring the tradition false which makes Jesus call himself "the Son of man." For a time Wellhausen could not bring himself to this conclusion, but in his Sketches and Studies here noticed he announces himself as a convert. The argument which drove him to this position is as follows: "Barnascha," the Aramaic equivalent for the Greek phrase translated "Son of man," means "the man." This expression is, however, so general that it could hardly have been bestowed as a designation of the Messiah. It is scarcely as significant as an unemphatic "I." Hence, if Jesus really employed this term to designate himself, he must have made it emphatic; that is, he must have meant to place the emphasis on the article "the," thus giving the term a peculiar significance. But as Jesus was neither a Greek philosopher nor a modern humanist it is scarcely possible that he employed so abstract and philosophical a term in speaking of himself. Hence the tradition which places this term in his mouth is unreliable. This argument Wellhausen undertakes to fortify by a special examination of the passages containing the term. It must be said that he has had a hard task to establish his view, if, indeed, we can speak of its being established, though we do not admit that it is. The matter is of importance only so far as certain principles of criticism are involved. How does Wellhausen proceed? Surely it is a great stretch of critical acumen to be able to say how an original thinker like Jesus would designate himself. We do not agree that the Aramaic equivalent determines the question. The Greek is not "the man," but "the Son of man." It may be impossible to decide just why Jesus saw fit to call himself thus; but our ignorance of his reasons cannot possibly warrant us in rejecting the tradition which is so well established. We recommend, though we fear in vain, a greater modesty among our critics.

Le Sacerdoce Lévitique dans la loi et dans l'histoire des Hébreux (The Levitical Priesthood in the Law and History of the Hebrews). By A. van Hoonacker. Louvain, J. B. Istas, 1899. Here we have the somewhat unusual combination of a Dutch thinker writing a really valuable conservative work in the French language. His book is divided into five sections, and gives us a relatively full treatment of the subject indicated by the title. The first section deals with the priesthood in the priestly code; the second, with priests and Levites; the third, with the hereditary character of the priesthood among the Hebrews; the fourth, with the high priests; and the fifth, with the support provided for the tribe of Levi. Van Hoonacker holds that the statements in the Chronicles relative to the preexilian priesthood are not a reflection of the situation in postexilian times, and that the descriptions in Chronicles correspond well with the accounts we have in preexilian writings;

and he also claims that the preexilian writings were incomplete and needed the additions given us in the Chronicles. He comes to the conclusion that Chronicles has for its source early documents, which the author used directly or indirectly; that Chronicles gives us a true account of the preexilian priesthood, more correct, indeed, than we could derive from preexilian writings known to us; that Deuteronomy brings out only partially, and not without modifying them, the regulations concerning the priests; and that it was expected by the Deuteronomist that his work should be supplemented by the priestly code. Van Hoonacker really overlooks nothing which could contribute to his positions, and he certainly must be credited with a great deal of ingenuity. By a method of comparison which is peculiar to himself he proceeds from step to step until he leaves the impression that he is in fact master of the situation. It is impossible to fairly estimate his work in so short a space. But this much must be said, that he has prepared a thorny road for those critics who take the position so generally held nowadays, according to which the later writings, such as Chronicles, have very little historical worth, particularly when dealing with the early priesthood. The book is one of the strongest of its class.

Reich Gottes und Menschensohn im Buche Daniel (The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man in the Book of Daniel). By Julius Boehmer. Leipzig, A. Deichert, 1898. The purpose of this work is to discover, if possible, the fundamental idea of the book of Daniel, which, Boehmer thinks, was written by a scribe who had a revelation from God to man, about the time of Antiochus IV. In order to get at this fundamental idea he investigates the concepts "kingdom of God" and "Son of man" as they are found in the prophecy. In the first part of his work Boehmer shows that, however it might have appeared, the universal kingdom could not possibly be given to the heathen because of their enmity to the true God. In the latter part of his book he maintains that only through the Son of man, who had up to that time been kept in the heavenly background, was Israel predestined to become the world-ruler and to realize an eternal kingdom of God on earth. Thus he denies the contrast between the world empire and the kingdom of God on earth. God gives the rulership of the world to Nebuchadnezzar and to many others in succession, but permanently to no one until he establishes an indestructible, eternal kingdom through the Son of man. But, in order to bring in this eternal kingdom, it was necessary that Israel should come into possession of the rulership of the world. How this could be brought about is the subject of the discussion in the latter part of the book. Boehmer holds that the first part of Daniel, though plainly intimating the privileges of Israel, gives the special prominence to the heathen monarchies. In the first six chapters the fact of the kingdom of God is, however, made prominent. In the second part of Daniel the future of Israel and the complete salvation take the fore-

most place. It gives the time, place, and manner of the kingdom of God. The seventh chapter of Daniel is regarded by Boehmer as the center of the entire book. The thought of the chapter, according to him, is that the royal supremacy of God, which up to that time had been manifested, though imperfectly, in the form of a heathen world empire, would now be given to Israel. After a day of judgment, which was soon to follow, the glory of Israel would be revealed in a world supremacy of eternal duration. Chapters viii–xii he takes as describing the preparation for this supremacy within Israel, through a fearful struggle, which, however, Israel would survive. According to Boehmer, the Son of man is an individual. On the whole, this is one of the freshest treatises on Daniel written from the standpoint of modern criticism. It may be truly designated as a constructive and reverent study of Daniel.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Progress of Protestantism in Italy. The work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Italy is well known. It would be a mistake to suppose, however, that from America alone proceed the influences which tend to weaken Romanism in its native land. Since 1826 there has been an evangelical Church in Florence, composed mostly of French and German Swiss, though with a mixture of Germans from Germany proper. The regular services have been conducted in the French language, but services have also been held in German. The French, being in the majority, have been able to check the growth of the Germanizing sentiment; but recently, by going a little too far, they have prompted the Germans to organize a congregation of their own and to call a pastor. The result will be two centers of Protestant influence in Florence where formerly there was one. The great difficulty under which the Germans labor in their evangelical work in Italy is lack of funds. Nevertheless, at a conference of German-Italian pastors held in May last, favorable reports were given with reference to the work of their churches, schools, and other similar institutions. So successful is the work of Protestantism, as carried on by different nationalities, especially in Rome, Naples, and Florence, that his holiness, Leo XIII, has vented his wrath upon it. He asserts that the result of the work in Rome has been to lower the whole tone of public morals, especially with reference to charity. It is incredible that this is earnestly meant. Rather is it an appeal to the prejudice of the masses. He also asserts that Protestant places of worship, boys' and girls' schools, and other educational institutions are constantly becoming more offensive to the faith of the Italians and to the consciences of the majority. One is reminded by such language of the words, "Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing?"

Internal Troubles of French Roman Catholicism. A tempest has been raging for some time among the French clericals concerning a book by Mother Marie, of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, in which she declares that the training of the teachers in conventual schools for girls has been wholly inadequate, and demands a thorough reform. She proposes as a remedy a seminary for such teachers in which the education afforded shall correspond to the demands of modern life. She proceeded also to act on her own suggestion, and with the consent of her archbishop, Seuer, of Avignon, went to Paris, where she succeeded in interesting a large number of prominent and influential people, clerical and lay, in her project. But the usual cry, raised as soon as anyone points out a defect in the affairs of the Church, was soon heard, namely, that the assertions of the book would furnish a powerful weapon for the enemies of the Church; and so a large number were found to deny the need of the proposed seminary and to oppose the whole project. Nevertheless, the pope at first appeared favorable to the course of Mother Marie, and it seemed as though the needed reform would be carried through. However, at length the whole matter was disapproved, on the plea that there was no ground for the proposed reform, although, doubtless by way of compromise, it was admitted that some of the convents might need improvement in the direction suggested. But the pope graciously received Mother Marie and granted her the right to apply herself to the work of education outside her order, though continuing to wear its garb. Wise as a serpent is this, if not harmless as a dove.

The Care of German Emigrants by Germans. This is a form of mission work with which all advocates of home missions can sympathize, but which, nevertheless, we in the United States can scarcely understand. We do something for the care of foreigners who come to our shores, but we do almost nothing for Americans who emigrate to other countries. On the other hand, German Protestants spend hundreds of marks annually for those of their brethren in the faith who forsake the Fatherland to take up their residence abroad. They have a regular organization whose duty it is to look after this work, and, as a means of diffusing information and arousing interest, issue a monthly magazine devoted to the interests of the Diaspora. Still, they feel they are doing nothing worthy of the real demands, and the friends of the cause are raising a bitter cry because in many foreign cities the few Germans resident there are unable to maintain religious services. When these Germans find themselves in Roman Catholic countries they are excusable for striving to preserve their peculiar faith; but a German society to encourage German Protestants coming to America to identify themselves with the religious organizations here existing would be more useful than a society whose duty it is to help them organize for themselves.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE *Edinburgh Review* (New York) for October, 1899, has interesting articles on "Bismarck," "Anglo-Indian Novelists" (Meadows Taylor, William Arnold, John Lang, Marion Crawford, John Roy, Mrs. Steel, James Blythe Patton, and H. S. Cunningham), and "Some Tendencies of Prose Style." Of Bismarck it is said that in strength of character he approached the aspiration expressed by Tennyson in "Maud:"

> Ah, God, for a man with heart, head, hand,
> Like some of the simple great ones gone
> Forever and ever by!
> One still, strong man in a blatant land,
> Whatever they call him, what care I,
> Aristocrat, democrat, autocrat—one
> Who can rule—

and the essayist wishes he could apply to the Iron Chancellor the rest of the quotation

> —and dare not lie.

The essay on "Prose Style" is the finest in the number. It says that no one since the world was created ever wrote better prose than Swift. Comparing Milton's magnificent but mistaken prose, it says that his style, laden with wealth of illustration, sonorousness of diction, and splendor of imagery, is like an army encumbered with baggage, too unwieldy to strike. The difference of his method from Swift's is like that between an oriental host passing in opulent but disorderly parade and the lean gray lines of a modern corps, stripped of every encumbrance, supple and springy in movement, yet rigid as steel. The classics, Swift and Addison, Fielding and Goldsmith, were classics without knowing it; they wrote without affectation, with their eyes on the object. Brunetière declares their excellence was largely accidental; they were born at the happy moment when the language in its growth had just attained perfection. Walter Scott was the greatest of all romantics. Hazlitt has received his due from Louis Stevenson only, who confessed his indebtedness to him. Hazlitt said of Coleridge, "He is the only person I ever knew who answered to the idea of a man of genius. He was the first poet I ever knew. His genius at that time (1798) had angelic wings and fed on manna. His thoughts did not seem to come with labor and effort, but as if borne on the gusts of genius, and as if the wings of his imagination lifted him off his feet. His voice rolled on the ear like the pealing organ." Landor's austere style was dignified, but with the dignity of death, not life. De Quincey's profuse style smells of the lamp. His studied rhapsodies are not poetry, and have not the rhythm of song;

nor are they true prose, for they never could have been spoken by mortal lips to mortal ears. Good taste revolts against such bedizenments of style as are seen in De Quincey and Disraeli. Macaulay must be always instructing, and his voice has the strident insistance of a teacher's harangue; he talks like a book. Thackeray and Newman have afforded the best example of what English style ought to be in its perfect adaptation to all the needs of life that have to be chronicled or commented on. Newman's writing derives straight from the fountainhead of English; Thackeray's style handles the lightest or the gravest subject with equal ease and equal fitness without a trace of effort. In Carlyle's writings "the naked truth, which he was forever threatening to let loose upon the universe, comes before us so heaped upon with the rags and tatters of a windy eloquence that we can scarcely tell which end of her is uppermost." Ruskin at his best is peerless and incomparable. As an artist in style, Kinglake approaches perfection. In the historical manner, Froude's mastery is unchallenged; his story of the Spanish Armada, so succinct, yet so full and moving, is a most enthralling narrative. Louis Stevenson was a self-conscious and deliberate hard student of the craft of words, of purely technical literary qualities. It is set down against him that he did something to confuse the frontiers of prose and poetry. Many critics are now hailing Mrs. Meynell as the best essayist since R. L. Stevenson. Walter Pater weaves long-drawn-out sentences modulated with a very delicate and subtle balance, but a sickly air pervades his pages, and his dainty periods move gingerly along; it is admirable in perfection of finish, yet unhealthily fastidious. The essayist sums up by saying that the more one reads of the best prose written nowadays—since Froude's death—the more one regrets the loss of the eighteenth-century manner—luminous, not coruscant, aiming at suavity and sanity above all things—which by its manly directness charmed the reader into the belief that he, too, might have written the same things in just the same way, instead of filling him with wonder (as Mr. Meredith does) how on earth any human being could have cemented words and ideas together into such a jewelled but bewildering mosaic.

THE *Journal of Theological Studies* (New York) is a new venture in the department of religious publication. Its October issue is the opening number of the quarterly, and in its American form is a reprint of the English periodical issued by Macmillan & Co. in London. Of its purpose it declares: "No English journal hitherto has devoted itself exclusively to the furtherance of theological learning. . . . We still desiderate a regular organ of communication between students whose lives are spent at the universities and elsewhere in the pursuit of scientific theology. The *Journal of Theological Studies* is intended to supply this want. It will welcome original papers on all subjects which fall within its province, as well as shorter discussions or brief notes upon matters

of detail. It will print ancient texts which have not appeared in type, or which for any cause may need to be printed afresh. A portion of its space will be given to summaries and notices of recent literature, and it will review at length a few of the more important works in cases where a fuller examination may serve to contribute to the knowledge of the subject. Such a periodical will appeal, in the first instance, to professed students and teachers of theology." The contributed articles in this initial number are: "Recent Research on the Origin of the Creed," by Canon Sanday; "St. Anselm's Argument for the Being of God," by the Master of Balliol; "A Practical Discourse on Some Principles of Hymn-Singing," by Robert Bridges; "The Acts of the Apostles, I. A Criticism of Lightfoot and Headlam," by Rev. J. A. Cross; "The Acts of the Apostles, II. A Plea for an Early Date," by Rev. R. B. Rackham; "Documents: The Sacramentary of Serapion of Thumis, Part I," by Rev. F. E. Brightman. The miscellaneous departments which follow are entitled "Notes," "Reviews," "Chronicle," and "Recent Periodicals relating to Theological Studies," and all are filled with important matter. Advanced students of theology in the United States, as in England, will be interested in this valuable periodical.

The *Indian Evangelical Review* (Calcutta and London) for October, 1899, has several articles of interest, the foremost of which is a statement of "The Differentia of Christianity," by Dr. John Robson, of Aberdeen, Scotland, reprinted from the *Contemporary Review*. It begins by saying: "There is no doubt that if Christianity is the only religion suited for all the world a knowledge of the religions of the world will but make this all the more apparent. It will be seen that it alone is possessed of truths and principles which are needful to make a religion suited for all mankind. And those who claim this place for Christianity, and refuse to give it a place merely as one of many religions, must examine what gives it this preeminence—what differentiates it from other religions." The key-note of the article is in this sentence: "'That repentance or remission of sins should be preached in Christ's name among all the nations,' is the message which Christianity bears to the world."

In the *New World* (Boston) for December are found: "The Dreyfus Affair," by Albert Rêville; "Nemesis, or the Divine Envy," by P. E. More; "The Legendary Story of Christ's Childhood," by M. A. Potter; "The Distinctive Mark of Christianity," by C. C. Everett; "Abraham, the Heir of Yahweh," by B. W. Bacon; "Inductive Homiletics," by C. H. Leonard; "Horace Bushnell and his Work for Theology," by C. F. Dole; "Is Nature Christian?" by Frederic Palmer; "The Educational Skeptics of the Commonwealth," by Foster Watson; and "Ashera in the Old Testament," by Karl Budde.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Four Gospels from a Lawyer's Standpoint. By EDMUND H. BENNETT, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 58. New York and Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.

The substance of this little book was prepared by the late dean of the Law School of Boston University, largely as a matter of personal interest to himself. Finally he based a lecture on the material he had collected—a lecture which he delivered many times, especially in the latter years of his life. His subject is treated under four heads: "Peculiarities of Each Gospel," "Confirmations in the Gospels," "Variations in the Gospels," "Inconsistencies in the Gospels." The effort of this very eminent lawyer is to ascertain whether or not, independently of divine revelation, independently of devout Christian faith, independently of any appeal to our religious sentiments, the truth of the story told in the four gospels could be satisfactorily established by a mere reasoning process, and by applying the same principles and tests to the Gospel narratives that we observe in determining the truth or falsity of any other documents or any other historical accounts. He approaches his subject with a personal reminiscence: "A few years ago, while writing an historical address for one of our Massachusetts cities, I came across, in a newspaper file of the Revolutionary period, a letter, or what purported to be a letter, written from that place, giving an account of a meeting held there in 1774, and a copy of some patriotic resolutions passed thereat. The writer of that letter, if there ever was one, had long been dead; all the persons said to have taken part in that meeting were also gone; the printer and publisher who gave that account to the world had likewise vanished from the earth; there was no person living who could make oath or testify that such an occurrence ever took place. But yet I had no hesitation in adopting the account as genuine, and using it as an established event in the history of that town. The mere fact of the existence of such a document under such circumstances was *prima facie* proof of its genuineness and authenticity quite sufficient to justify the acceptance of it as true until the contrary be proved. What would have been my joy and confidence had I found four such letters, in four different papers, written by four different persons, giving an account of the same transaction? And although, in a close comparison of these four accounts, some variations should have been found as to the particulars of that event, would that overthrow all belief in the truthfulness of the accounts? Nay; would it not rather furnish stronger proof of their integrity? Had all four accounts been exactly alike, the suspicion would have been irresistible that one was copied from the other, or that

all were taken from one and the same original. But substantial uniformity with circumstantial variety is one of the surests tests of truth in all historical narratives. The several accounts of many important battles of the world, and of many other historical events, vary in many particulars, and yet no one thereby has any doubt of their occurrence. The four portraits of the Father of his Country, painted by four different artists, namely, Stuart, Peale, Sharpless, and Wright, though all taken about the same period of his life, vary so ~~much in expression~~ that you would scarcely know them to represent the same person, and yet the same George Washington undoubtedly sat for them all. The various editions of Gray's 'Elegy,' and of some of Shakespeare's plays, differ as much as do some chapters of Matthew and Luke in their respective accounts of the same transaction. Indeed, what four of us could go away from a meeting and give exactly the same account of what had transpired? What four witnesses under oath in a court of justice *ever* describe a transaction precisely alike? And yet their testimony is taken as reliable in cases involving the most important interests, even of life and death. Indeed, judges and juries are apt to *discredit* a cause in which all the witnesses tell a long story in exactly the same words. Let us apply the same principles to the four gospels. They exist; they purport to contain the history of our Lord Jesus Christ; the authors are not living; the characters they therein describe are no more. No man living knows by *direct personal knowledge* that these things were ever so. But why not apply the same rules of evidence and belief to scriptural narratives as to any other? Being in existence, and a minute account of passing events, they must be either genuine and true, or else a gross forgery. There is no alternative; for the self-delusion theory is preposterous. They were true when written, or were then an absolute falsehood. If the latter, they must *at that very time* have been known to be false, and an imposition on the credulity of those then living. These stories began to be published not long after the alleged crucifixion. Many persons were then living who could easily have refuted the statements of the evangelists had they been untrue. The enemies of Jesus were still alive and active. The scribe and the Pharisee, the priest and the Levite, still smarted under his repeated denunciations. They had the disposition, the opportunity, and the incentive to deny the story of the miraculous birth, the spotless life, the marvelous works, the sublime death, the astounding resurrection, and the glorious ascension of our Lord, had the then published description of these events been totally fabulous. But, so far as we know, no person then living ever uttered a protest against these accounts, and for two thousand years they have been received and treated as veritable history. Again, being written, they must have been written by some one. *There they are;* some persons wrote them; and they must have been written by either bad men or good men, by liars or by truth-tellers, by forgers or by honest historians. That is a very elementary and simple proposition, but it is the key to

the whole situation. Every circumstance tending to *disprove* forgery tends, on the other hand, to prove the truth of the documents; for they *must* be one or the other. The question, then, is: Do wicked men write such books as these four gospels? Do liars proclaim that they and all other liars 'shall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone?' Does the thief denounce dishonesty, or the adulterer reprove uncleanness, or Satan rebuke sin? If, then, these stories were not penned by wicked men, they must owe their origin to honest men; and if honest and truthful men wrote them, they must be honest and true narratives, and not a tissue of falsehoods. Is not the conclusion irresistible?" The dean of the Law School then goes on to examine the subject from four other standpoints, in four chapters which show how incontrovertible and overwhelming is the evidence, viewed legally, for the historic truthfulness of the gospels. Dean Bennett, who was a Protestant Episcopalian, says, at the close of his Introduction: "I hope to see the time when the ministers of my own Church shall be canonically permitted to open their pulpits to their brethren of other denominations. God speed the day!"

The Gospel for a World of Sin. By HENRY VAN DYKE, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 155. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This is a companion volume to *The Gospel for an Age of Doubt*, which some admirers have called the finest apologetic of modern times. The author says: "This second book is written chiefly because I feel the need of a fuller utterance to complete the message of the former book. They stand together and interpret each other; they are windows looking toward Christ from two different points of view. The message of the first book was this: Christ saves us from doubt, because he is the revelation of God. The message of the second book is this: Christ is the revelation of God, because he saves us from sin." Thus it is seen that this book rather than the former goes to the root of the matter, and shows us the staple that anchors the whole dependent argument which runs connectedly through both volumes. Speaking of the present age, Dr. Van Dyke says: "The age of doubt will pass, is already passing, and we are entering, if the signs of the times do not deceive us, on a new era of faith. There is a renaissance of religion. Spiritual instincts and cravings assert themselves and demand their rights. The loftier aspirations, the larger hopes of mankind, are leading the new generation forward into the twentieth century as men who advance to a noble conflict and a glorious triumph, under the captaincy of the Christ that was, and is, and is to be. The educated youth of to-day are turning with a mighty, world-wide movement toward the banner of a militant, expectant, imperial Christianity. The discoveries of science, once deemed hostile and threatening to religion, are in process of swift transformation into the materials for a new defense of the faith. The achievements of commerce and social organization have made new and broad highways

around the world for the onward march of the believing host. Already we can discern the brightness of another great age of faith." The Gospel is for the whole world in every age. "To those who are doubtful and confused the divine Voice says, 'This is my beloved Son; hear him.' To those who are sinful and sorrowful, the Voice says, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.'" The first chapter is about the mist of doubt above the gulf of sin. The second is on "The Sin of the World," the inexplicable presence of evil, the sense of sin, and the hopeful fear. Perhaps the most brilliant and powerful chapter is the third, entitled, "The Bible Without Christ." We do not wonder that this masterful chapter, when delivered in substance as a university sermon, has been felt to be terrific in its force. Starting with the fact that one of the strongest proofs of divine inspiration is the presence in the Bible of a clear message of salvation centering in Christ; noting that Jesus himself took this view of the Scriptures, as indicated in his words to the unbelieving Jews who trusted in their sacred books but felt no need of him, "Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me;" Dr. Van Dyke says: "Suppose, for a moment, that this were a mistake. Take Christ out of the Bible. Suppose that there were no testimonies to Christ in the Old Testament, no promises of his coming, no foreshadowings of his saving mission and power—only law and ritual, poetry and history, philosophy and prophecy. Suppose also that the New Testament contained nothing but the record of the moral teachings of Jesus and his followers, without reference to his life and death as a visible revelation of divine justice and mercy in personality and action. Suppose that it had not a word to say about his work in relation to men as sinners. Suppose, in short, that it gave the words of Jesus about the reality and nature and guilt of sin, about the pain and shame and fear of humanity, but no explanation of him, no recognition of what he did and suffered, no view of his crucifixion and resurrection, in their bearing upon the sin of the world. Suppose the Bible without Christ. What hope of salvation would it contain? What would it be worth to us? What would be left of it as the divine answer to the need of a sinful world? In the Old Testament, with its partial and imperfect vision of the nature of evil, an unbroken shadow; in the New Testament, with its poignant disclosure of the secret of sin, an intolerable light." In the thirty pages following the author paints the awful blackness of that shadow and the blinding glare of that insufferable light. Under the title of "Christ's Mission to the Inner Life" he writes of the kingdom within, the picture of Jesus in the soul, peace with God through Christ, and newness of life. Under "The Perfection of Atonement" he sets forth the love that meets all needs and the love that passeth knowledge. The closing chapter is "The Message of the Cross," opening with Amiel's words, "The cross is the guarantee of the Gospel; therefore it has been its standard." Dr. Van Dyke is nowhere guilty of giving aid and comfort to the Unitarians. His last ser-

tence is, "On the cross of Calvary God is revealed, crowned with thorns and enduring death for our sake." To which he adds Browning's great lines:

> The very God! think Abib; dost thou think?
> So the All-great were the All-loving, too—
> So through the thunder comes a human voice
> Saying, "O heart I made, a heart beats here!
> Face my hands fashioned, see it in myself!
> Thou hast no power, nor mayest conceive of mine,
> But love I gave thee with myself to love,
> And thou must love me who have died for thee!"

Life Indeed. By EDWARD B. COE, D.D., LL.D., Senior Minister of the Collegiate (Dutch) Church, New York. 12mo, pp. 267. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Dr. Coe is one of the most sincere, straightforward, thoughtful, scholarly, and edifying preachers of the metropolis. His ministry of many years does not pall on the public taste. There is worth, simplicity, dignity, and sweet reasonableness in this volume of discourses, which are carefully written by a man habituated to the pen. Nothing meretricious or sensational could gain entrance to Dr. Coe's pulpit or study. His sermon on A Lost Faith is from the text, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him;" the sermon, entitled De Profundis, from the words, "Out of the depths have I cried unto Thee, O Lord;" God's Wrestling With Man is from the text, "And Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day;" The Restoring of Souls, from "He restoreth my soul;" The Work of God, from "This is the work of God, that ye believe on Him whom He hath sent." The next is "Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ." "Where there is no vision, the people perish" is the text for a wise sermon on The Practical Man's Mistakes. "And the Lord shut him in" is text for Divine Restraints. In the Footsteps of Jesus is a sermon from the words, "But go your way, tell His disciples and Peter that He goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see Him, as He said unto you." Jesus Asleep, The Leadership of Little Children, and The Necessity of Immortality are other subjects, and the volume closes with a sermon on The Place and the Way. In this last, by a truer rendering of the text, the passage which makes one of the disciples flatly contradict the Lord is cleared up. Christ had told his disciples that he must go away, and that they could not follow him at once. He had spoken to them of a home which he had called his Father's house, in which were many dwelling places, where he would prepare a place for them, and into which by and by he would receive them. And he adds, "Whither I go ye know the way." He does not say, in a correct rendering, "Ye know whither I am going," for that, as Thomas testifies, they did not know. But the way was plain to them, though

the point to which it led was still beyond their sight. Then it is that the slow, cautious mind of the disciple, lingering bewildered over the picture of a royal palace far away, so different from that which his fancy had painted as the future home of the Messiah, replies, "But, Lord, we do not even know whither thou art going; how then do we know the way? First tell us plainly where thy future abode shall be, and then, perchance, we may discover the path which will lead us also to it." There is at once instruction and reproof in our Lord's reply, as Dr. Coe renders it: "O thou honest but narrow soul, hast thou not learned that I am the way? I came forth from the Father, and I am going again to the Father. That is all ye need to know, and ye would have known it if ye had known Me for what I am. To be with the Father is heaven for Me, for you, for every human soul, and no man cometh to the Father but by Me. The fullness of meaning that My words contain it is not in human power to conceive. No mortal eye hath seen or can see the glories that are reserved for the children of God. Not upon any earthly hills, shadowed by clouds, and swept by storms, do the walls and towers of the new Jerusalem stand in their divine strength and beauty. And not even in thought can ye follow Me now to that realm of joy and peace which is so soon to open its gates of pearl to My ascending spirit. It is enough for you to know that it is My Father's house. He is its light, and life, and glory, and wherever he is, there is heaven. To Him even now ye may draw near through Me, and through Me alone. Cease, then, from your idle and vain inquiry, 'Whither goest Thou?' and let not your heart be troubled, because though ye know not whither I am going, ye know that I am the way."

Religio Pictoris. By HELEN BIGELOW MERRIMAN. Crown 8vo, pp. 250. New York and Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The first words of the Introduction explain the title of this thoughtful treatment of various problems: "Among our books we have a *Religio Medici* and a *Religio Poetæ*, but not a *Religio Pictoris;* yet it may be well that the painter, as well as the physician and the poet, should set forth the faith that is in him, because from the nature of his calling he has some special advantages for dealing with the deeper problems of life. The painter is bound both to the ideal and the actual, and cannot separate himself from either. He is thus obliged to take both sides of life into account. His work must consist in shaping concrete realities into some form of ideal expression. He may paint chairs and tables, rocks and streams, flesh and garments, but unless he can make these stir our feelings in some way he is only a maker of signboards. . . . The artist's problem is similar to the problem of every human life. We are all, in our best desires at least, pledged to the ideal, the immortal. We realize, if only dimly, that our life's work should be the shaping of the elements which make up our lives into some form of ideal expression. In trying to bring this about we are obliged to take very definite and

respectful account of those elements. We think in the valor of our youth that we can grasp and mold life to our will; but we learn at last by many defeats and much humbling of pride, how real and much to be respected in their actuality are the things we thought of in the beginning as mere powers in our game. Moreover, as with the artist, it is our personal quality that should mold our lives and give them value, but the sense of personality is somewhat weak in these days. There is plenty of individuality, but it is unrelated and inefficient. Because man's sense of his own personality is weak, he has but a feeble belief in the personality of God, for the two are intimately connected. Increasing knowledge of our environment is doubtless responsible for this state of things. It is all so wonderful, and natural law is so great, that man is tempted to think of himself as the product of circumstances, a tool of great forces, rather than a force in himself. The modern mind is like an artist, if such a one could be found, who should paint the background of a portrait first, and then modify the face and figure of his sitter to harmonize with it. The folly of such a procedure is so obvious to the true artist, his sense of his own personality and that of his sitter is so strong, that his unwritten creed on this point, if we can grasp it, may reinforce in our thinking that personal note, both human and divine, which is so much to be desired." Then the author goes on to show how the artist's creed, framed from the standpoint of his work and experience, does reinforce our faith in the significance and preeminence of personality, the universe through. The charm, and grace, and sensibility of the artistic spirit run through following chapters, entitled "The Ensemble," "The Values," "Individuality," "Personality," "Existence and Relation," "Recognition," "Immortal Life," and "Conclusion." There are many lovely and delicately wise things in the book, which will bear reading again and again. The minister cannot look at the great central truths of life from too many standpoints, and *Religio Pictoris* shows him his world of truth from a new angle and gladdens him with a sense of beautiful enrichment in his mind and heart. He finds on these pages, not doctrine in syllogism, but doctrine in bloom. The fifth chapter is prefaced with those fine lines of Edmond Holmes:

> Not in the strength of duty but of love,
> Not as Fate wills, but as their comrades call,
> The stars of midnight in their orbits move,
> Each drawn to each, and all afire for all.

The book lends a somewhat novel and very lovely sort of help to a minister's thinking and feeling, and will make divine truth positively fragrant in every thoughtful home where it is permitted to diffuse its warm breath.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Letters of Emerson to a Friend. Edited by CHARLES ELIOT NORTON. 12mo, pp. 81. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. Price, cloth, $1.

These letters, dating from 1838 to 1853, are parts of the early records of a friendship which began when Emerson was thirty years old, and lasted till his death. Emerson himself set forth that the ideal is not to be attained on earth. He said, "We walk alone in this world: friends such as we desire are dreams and fables." Yet he prized with rare appreciation such friendships as the artificial order of society and the weakness of human nature allow to exist. Dr. Norton says that the unique charm of Emerson's nature lay in his pure idealism, and that his individuality was so complete and absolute as to distinguish him from all other men in his generation, and to give him place with the few of all time who have had native force sufficient to enable them to be truly themselves, and to show to their brother men the virtue of an independent spirit. Not all these thirty-four letters and fragments have intrinsic value to call for publication; yet we relish this little volume as one more drink from a crystalline fountain of which, we may presume, this is our final sip. In 1839 Emerson wrote, "It seems as if a certain perplexity were all but universal among the contemplative class of persons in this country at this moment: the very children are infected with skepticism and ennui." Comparing the expressive arts, painting and sculpture on the one hand with poetry on the other, he wrote, "The eye is a speedier student than the ear; by a grand or a lovely form it is astonished or delighted once for all and quickly appeased, whilst the sense of a verse steals slowly on the mind and suggests a hundred fine fancies before its precise import is finally settled." To his friend, nine years his junior, he writes: "I will not understand an expression of sadness in your letter as anything more than a momentary shade. For I conceive of you as allied on every side to what is beautiful and inspiring, with noblest purposes in life and with powers to execute your thought. What space can be allowed you for a moment's despondency? The free and the true, the few who conceive of a better life, are always the soul of the world. In whatever direction their activity flows, society can never spare them, but all men feel, even in their silent presence, a moral debt to such—were it only for the manifestation of the fact that there are aims higher than the average." Of Friendship, which is to him the most attractive of topics, Emerson said: "The subject is so high and sacred, we cannot walk straight up to it; we must saunter if we would find the secret. Nature's roads are not turnpikes but circles, and the instincts are the only sure guides." He says the Confessions of Augustine were translated "two hundred years ago in the golden time when all translations seemed to have the fire of original works." Of books he writes, "It happens to us once or twice in a lifetime to be drunk with some book which probably has some extraordinary relative power to intoxicate *us* and none other; and having exhausted that cup of enchantment, we go

groping in libraries all our years afterward in the hope of being in Paradise again." One hot and languid July day he wrote: "Not the smallest event enlivens our little sandy village. If I look out of the window there is perhaps a cow; if I go into the garden there are cucumbers; if I look into the brook there is a mud turtle. In the sleep of the great heats there was nothing for me but to read the Vedas, the Bible of the tropics. . . . It is as sublime as heat and night and a breathless ocean. . . . It is of no use to put away the book: if I trust myself in the woods or in a boat upon the pond, nature makes a Brahmin of me presently." And on another similar day he writes from Nantasket Beach: "Is it the lassitude of this Syrian summer, that more and more draws the cords of Will out of my thought and leaves me nothing but perpetual observation, perpetual acquiescence? Shall I not be Turk and fatalist before today's sun shall set? and in this thriving New England too, full of din and snappish activity and invention and willfulness. Can you not save me, dip me into ice water, find me some girding belt, that I glide not away into a stream or a gas, deceasing in infinite diffusion?" The following bit is pure Emersonian: "Not in his goals, but in his transition, man is great, and the truest state of mind rested in becomes false. Our admiration accuses us. Instead of admiring the Apollo, or the picture, or the victory at Marengo, *we* ought to be *producing* what is admirable, and these things should glitter to us as hints and stints merely." And this: "I find myself, maugre all my philosophy, a devout student and admirer of persons. I cannot get used to them; they daunt and dazzle me still. Blessed be the Eternal Power for those whom fancy even cannot strip of beauty, and who never for a moment seem to me profane." Here is even Emerson guilty of a common and seemingly incurable but wholly inexcusable blunder. He writes, "A figure whom, the ancients said, sometimes appeared." It is impossible to parse "whom." Of course it should be *who*. It is not the object of "said," but the subject of "appeared," and must have the *nominative* form. As much as this a boy of fourteen, who had been taught analysis and parsing by Thompson H. Landon, would infallibly know. Of Henry James, Emerson writes in 1849, "I had the happiest half hour with that man lately, at his house: so fresh and expansive he is." He says he asks more from his benefactors than mere talent and information—he asks "expansions that amount to new horizons." Carlyle and Arthur Helps asked Emerson in England if there were any Americans who really had an American idea, and he told them in reply that there "were monsters hard by the setting sun who believed in a future such as was never a past, but if it were shown to them [the English] they would think French communism solid and practicable in comparison with that future." Emerson's sensitiveness to his friends appears in this confession: "Some of the best of the children of men have put their hands into mine. I will deserve them and hold them fast. . . It is strange how people act on me. I am not a pith ball nor raw silk, yet to human electricity is no piece of humanity so sensible. I

am forced to live in the country, if it were only that the streets make me desolate, but if I talk with a man of sense and kindness I am imparadised at once." The shining of Emerson's pure genius grows not dim with the years that roll over his grave.

Jane Eyre. By CHARLOTTE BRONTE. With an Introduction by Mrs. Humphry Ward. 8vo, pp. 555. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, gilt top, $1.75.

This is the first volume of the new "Haworth Edition" of the works of the Brontë sisters, with prefaces by Mrs. Humphry Ward, and annotations by Clement K. Shorter; the whole to be completed in seven volumes, illustrated with photogravure portraits and views. This superb republication of English classics follows close upon the equally magnificent new edition of Thackeray's works issued recently by the same great publishing firm of Harper & Brothers, and the two together are samples of the lofty kind of service which that most honorable house has rendered to the American reading public through three generations. No publishing house in the world has a nobler record. It has aimed always at quality, and has published many books of a high order which were more valuable to the public than financially profitable to the publishers. Its aims have never been lowered from the mark set by the original four Harper brothers, who were men of great strength of character, working force, uprightness of conduct, and purity of purpose. It is a pleasure to record that the signs of enterprise and vigor in the management of the firm were never greater than at present, and there is good promise for a demonstration of the proposition that solvency and high aims can abide together. The people of the United States have abundant reasons for wishing this great house to perpetuate its great work. Charlotte Brontë's powerful romance, *Jane Eyre*, was first published in 1847, and in a few weeks had taken London by storm, winning such success as Thackeray said took him ten years to achieve. Of Thackeray, Charlotte Brontë, in her preface to the second edition of *Jane Eyre*, wrote: "Ahab did not like Micaiah, because he never prophesied good concerning him, but evil; probably he liked the sycophant son of Chenaanah better; yet might Ahab have escaped a bloody death had he but stopped his ears to flattery and opened them to faithful counsel. There is a man in our own days whose words are not framed to tickle delicate ears; who, to my thinking, comes before the great ones of society much as the son of Imlah came before the throned Kings of Judah and Israel; and who speaks truth as deep, with a power as prophet-like and as vital—a mien as dauntless and as daring.' Is the satirist of *Vanity Fair* admired in high places? I cannot tell; but I think if some of those amongst whom he hurls the Greek fire of his sarcasm, and over whom he flashes the levin-brand of his denunciation, were to take his warnings in time, they or their seed might yet escape a fatal Ramoth-gilead." Some likened Thackeray to Fielding, but she said, "He resembles Fielding as an eagle does a vul-

ture; Fielding could stoop on carrion, but Thackeray never does." A fresh charm is added to this new edition of a great book by Mrs. Ward's Introduction, a study of life and character, as well as a literary analysis. In it the strong, free, passionate personality of Charlotte Brontë is analyzed. It notes that she was an Irishwoman, and her genius at bottom a Celtic genius. "The main characteristics of the Celt are all hers—disinterestedness, melancholy, wildness, a wayward force and passion, forever wooed by sounds and sights to which other natures are insensible—by murmurs from the earth, by colors in the sky, by tones and accents of the soul, that speak to the Celtic sense as to no other. . . . Idealism, understood as a lifelong discontent; passion, conceived as an inner thirst and longing that wears and kills more often than it makes happy; a love of home and kindred entwined with the very roots of life, so that homesickness may easily exhaust and threaten life; an art directed rather to expression than to form—ragged often and broken, but always poignant, always suggestive, touched with reverie and emotion; who does not recognize in these qualities, these essentially Celtic qualities, the qualities of the Brontës?" Charlotte Brontë was rich in the Celtic pride, the Celtic shyness, the Celtic endurance, the Celtic craving for solitude. But the Celtic element was not all of her. Crossing the wild impetuous Irish temper was an influence long breathed on her from Yorkshire and the hard, frugal, persistent North. As for the material she likes and works upon, her main *stuff* is English, Protestant, law-respecting, conventional even. She made wide acquaintance with Victor Hugo, Alfred de Musset, and George Sand, and her genius was likely quickened by them, as also by other writings of French romanticism, that rich and brilliant movement started by Chateaubriand at the century's beginning. But from French books as a whole she revolted. In 1840 she wrote: "Another bale of French books received from G———, containing forty volumes. They are like the rest, clever, wicked, sophistical, and immoral. The best of it is, that they give one a thorough idea of France and Paris as they are." Whoever wants the great English classics of the nineteenth century in elegant and unsurpassable form for building a library in the study or the home can nowhere find anything to excel the editions now issued by the Harpers of the works of Thackeray and the works of the Brontë sisters.

God's Education of Man. By WILLIAM DEWITT HYDE, President of Bowdoin College. 12mo. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The book aims to indicate certain changes taking place in theological conceptions. The Introduction and Conclusion are "for clergymen and such laymen as are not afraid of hard reading on fundamental themes." The three central chapters restate in modern terms the essential truths expressed in the old doctrines of sin, redemption, and sanctification. Regarding God and man as kindred—related to each other as vine to branch, father to child—Dr. Hyde indicates his conception of the divine

work upon the human by the title "God's Education of Man." He presents God as a wise and patient teacher, eager to impart to man the lessons it is good for him to learn; and man as a dull and stupid, often wayward and willful, sometimes even fractious and rebellious pupil, whom the Great Teacher is trying to train for usefulness and honor and blessedness and immortality. This is no stupid, heavy book. There is no lack of freshness, pungency, virility, outspokenness, and fire. Those who do not know Dr. Hyde in his writings may find interest in making his acquaintance. The three popular chapters are headed, "Control By Law," "Conversion By Grace," and Character Through Service." Pithy bits of modern poetry, from proper and meditative Wordsworth to unconventional Kipling, lend flash and ring to pages of strong prose. In the Conclusion the author compares differing types of idealists—Plato with Aristotle, Kant with Hegel, Matthew Arnold with Robert Browning, Garrison with Lincoln, Burne-Jones with Watts, Cyrus Hamlin with David Livingstone, President Nott with Secretary Anderson. He says, "Methodism was the restoration of grace, when law had lost its grip, and love was dragging her anchor." A Congregational church member described the stuff given out nowadays from many pulpits as "*débris* floating in dishwater." These chapters deal with practical matters such as "How to Bring Sinners to Repentance," "Justice and Reasonableness of Justification by Faith," "Conversion," "The Pastor's Class," "Prayer not Reflex Action but Vital Communion, and Its Answer Inevitable," "The Need of Christian Fellowship," "The Bane of Clericalism and Sentimentalism," "The Minister's Threefold Task," "The Meanness of Sin," "The Responsibility of Wealth," "The Test of Pleasure," "The Moral Law in Politics." A theological professor of large experience is quoted as saying recently that he knew of only two colleges which give their students a point of view which has any significance for theology. Henry George and Cardinal Manning conversing together on religious subjects, the Cardinal said, "I love men because Jesus loved them." Mr. George replied, "And I love Jesus because he loved men." In that part of Chapter I which deals with "the Pride of the Pharisee and the Conceit of the Perfectionist," the merely imitative, conventional, make-believe man, with no mind or soul of his own, whose virtues are a thin veneer, whose gold is tinsel and his diamonds rhinestones, is decisively disposed of by aid of Kipling's vigorous verse. Turned from the gate of Heaven because his meretricious goodness is too cheap and mimicking for that high and holy region of Reality, he is refused admission even at the gate of Hell. The earnest robust Devil bids his deputies

> Go husk this whimpering thief that comes in the guise of a man;
> Winnow him out 'twixt star and star and sieve his proper worth.

And Satan's attendants, having done as they were bid, come back with this report:

> The soul that he got from God he has bartered clean away.
> We have threshed a stook of print and book, and winnowed a chattering wind,

> And many a soul wherefrom he stole, but his we cannot find;
> We have handled him, we have dandled him, we have seared him to the bone,
> And sure, if tooth and nail show truth, he has no soul of his own.

Two English painters treat the same ideal theme of "Hope," and Dr. Hyde contrasts the results: "Burne-Jones's 'Hope' is the same elongated, elaborated piece of woeful femininity which meets us in all his pictures, save that in this particular pose of 'Hope' her left hand is aimlessly lifted into the clouds which are but a few inches above her lofty head, and gropes helplessly about in that misty medium. Watts's 'Hope,' on the contrary, robed in the most beautiful of blues, sits firmly on the round earth from which all else has fled, clinging to the lyre which alone is left her. Only one string of this remains unbroken. Blindfolded as she is, she leans her ear close to the one unbroken string and draws from it the music that is still latent there. So intent is she on the music that is left that all losses are forgotten, and the whole round world is music to her ear, because her whole attention is centered on the one spot whence music can be drawn. That is the brave, true, deep form of hope, which seizes the little good there is left in a desolate and discordant life, lives so close to it and makes so much of it that the one point stands for all; and because that one point is good and we are absorbed in that, therefore the whole world becomes for us good and glorious." The above extracts prove that this is no dull, dry book of prosaic commonplaces or metaphysical abstractions. If we should say that the connective tissue is not always apparent between the parts, the author might retort that he is not responsible for the reviewer's lack of perception.

John Selden and His Table-Talk. By ROBERT WATERS, author of *Shakespeare as Portrayed by Himself, Intellectual Pursuits*, etc. 12mo, pp. 251. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.

This volume opens with "Some Account of Bygone Table-Talk Books," which is followed by a sketch of the career of John Selden, the great English constitutional lawyer and legislator, who lived in the reigns of four sovereigns (if the last, Cromwell, can be called a sovereign), and who had probably a larger share in the memorable events of his day than most of the eminent persons who figured in it. The author is not reckless in guaranteeing that he who carefully peruses Selden's *Table-Talk* will lay it down a wiser man than when he took it up. In this he only echoes Hallam, who said, "The Table-Talk of Selden is worth all the ana of the Continent;" and Coleridge, who said, "There is more weighty bullion in this book [Selden's *Table-Talk*] than I ever found in the same number of pages of any uninspired writer." The *Table-Talk* of Selden confirms the saying of Lord Clarendon, that "in his conversation he was the most clear discourser, and had the best faculty of making hard things easy, and of presenting them clearly to the understanding, of any man that hath been known." One hundred and fifty pages of Selden's table-talk on one hundred and twenty different subjects are given in this volume, with numerous comments and explan-

atory notes by the author. The following are Selden's remarks upon the "Law of Nature:" "I cannot fancy to myself what the Law of Nature means except it be the Law of God. How should I know I ought not to steal, and ought not to commit adultery, unless somebody had told me so? Surely it is because I have been told so. 'Tis not because I think I ought not to do them, nor because you think I ought not; if so, our minds might change. Whence, then, comes the restraint? From a higher Power; nothing else can bind. I cannot bind myself, for I may untie myself again; nor an equal cannot bind me, for we may untie one another; it must be a superior Power, even God Almighty. If two of us make a bargain, why should either of us stand to it? What need you care what you say, or what need I care what I say? Certainly because there is something about me that tells me *Fides est servanda* [one must keep faith]; and if we after alter our minds, and make a new bargain, there's *Fides servanda* [faith must be kept] there, too." Of moral honesty he says: "They that cry down moral honesty cry down that which is a great part of religion: my duty toward God and my duty toward man. What care I to see a man run after a sermon if he cozens and cheats as soon as he comes home? On the other side, morality must not be without religion; for, if so, it may change as I see convenience. Religion must govern it. He that hath not religion to govern his morality is not a dram better than my mastiff dog; so long as you stroke him and please him, and do not pinch him, he will play with you as finely as may be; he is a very good moral mastiff; but if you hurt him he will fly in your face and tear out your throat." Selden, who never married, said, "Of all actions of a man's life his marriage doth least concern other people; yet of all actions of our life it is most meddled with by other people." On the whole, we count the most important saying, preserved to us from one of the strongest, wisest, and most learned lawyers England ever had, to be the words reported by Archbishop Usher, who attended Selden in his last illness and preached his funeral sermon. Selden, near to death, declared to the archbishop, "That he had surveyed most parts of the learning that was among the sons of men; that he had his study full of books and papers on most subjects in the world; yet at that time he could not recollect any passage out of those infinite books and manuscripts he was master of whereon he could rest his soul, save out of the Holy Scriptures, wherein the most remarkable passage that lay upon his spirit was that contained in St. Paul's Epistle to Titus: 'For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.'"

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Contemporaries. By THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. 12mo, pp. 379. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

The author of *Cheerful Yesterdays*, and of a dozen other volumes, has now gathered from the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Nation*, the *Century Magazine*, the *Chautauquan*, the *Independent*, and other periodicals, where they first appeared, this series of sketches of Emerson, and Alcott, and Theodore Parker, and Whittier, and Garrison, Sumner, Phillips, Dr. Howe, Mrs. Child, and General Grant, Whitman, Lanier, and Helen Hunt Jackson, with a few essays and narratives of a different sort. They have the vividness and value, the naturalness and interest of personal reminiscences, since the author was well acquainted with most of those concerning whom he writes. His finest quotation from Emerson is this verse from "Wood-Notes:"

> Thou canst not wave thy staff in air,
> Nor dip thy paddle in the lake,
> But it carves the bow of beauty there,
> And the ripples in rhyme the oar forsake.

The third sketch begins thus: "In the year 1828 there was a young man of eighteen at work upon a farm in Lexington, Mass., performing bodily labor to the extent of twenty hours a day sometimes, and that for several days together, and at other times studying intensely when outdoor work was less pressing. Thirty years after, that same man sat in the richest private library in Boston, working from twelve to seventeen hours a day in severer toil. The interval was crowded with labors, with acquisitions, with reproaches, with victories; and he who experienced all this died exhausted at the end of it, less than fifty years old, but looking seventy. That man was Theodore Parker." Parker's grave is near that of Mrs. Browning, in the English cemetery outside the Porta Pinti, at Florence, Italy. The laborious Goethe said, "Strive constantly to concentrate yourself; never dissipate your powers; incessant activity, of whatever kind, leads finally to physical and mental bankruptcy." Parker multiplied his channels of endeavor and exhausted his life in the effort to do too many things. He had wonderful quickness and an infallible memory, but wore his brain out early. Thackeray said of himself, when he found his intellectual fertility failing, "I have taken too many crops off the soil." An admirable sentence is this in which Parker described the eloquence of Luther: "The homely force of Luther, who, in the language of the farm, the shop, the boat, the street, or the nursery, told the high truths that reason or religion taught, and took possession of his audience by a storm of speech, then poured upon them all the riches of his brave plebeian soul, baptizing every head anew—a man who with the people seemed more a mob than they, and with kings the most imperial man." Parker said of Dr. Channing: "Diffuseness is the old Adam of the pulpit. There are always two ways of hitting the mark—one with a single bullet, the other with a shower

of small shot. Dr. Channing chose the latter, as most of our pulpit orators have done." Whittier was so shy that in early life it was a positive distress to him to be face to face with half a dozen people in a room. This shyness never left him, though somewhat moderated at times. At the house of Governor William Claflin, which he often made his Boston home, Mrs. Claflin found difficulty in inducing him to consent to see any of her friends who were anxious to meet him; and the tactful ingenuity of that most gracious woman was put to its utmost skill in managing him and arranging inoffensive plans for gaining for her friends the privilege they desired. He would disappear beyond reach if he had warning of their coming. He had a horror of being exhibited. Once she made the daring venture of having a dozen or a score of her friends among the theologues of Boston University come in on him unannounced as he sat at ease in her library, all unsuspecting such conspiracy against him. Mrs. Claflin was happy in seeing her harmless little scheme work to a charm, for her shy guest took the surprise party in good part, and, instead of closing his shell like a clam or drawing in his head like a turtle, he went on with delightful talk, unconstrained and free with the young ministers who will never forget how beautifully wise, earnest, gentle, and almost tender the dear old Quaker was to them in one of the most privileged hours of their lives. Whittier was a poet of the people, and herein filled a mission apart from that of contemporary New England bards. Emerson, Longfellow, Holmes, and Lowell belonged to what has been described as "Brahman blood," representing traditions of hereditary culture. Their ancestors were largely lawyers, clergymen, or educated people of some kind. Whittier had a different ancestry, but he came of a race which had a pure high culture of its own, the culture implied by "birthright membership" in the Society of Friends. He learned at his mother's knee to go in fancy with William Penn into the wilderness, and to walk with Barclay of Ury through howling mobs. Colonel Higginson declares that "there is no better Brahman blood than the Quaker blood." Remarking that Whitman found most of his admirers outside of his own country, the author thinks this is no sure token of merit, especially "when we remember that this fame was mostly in England, and that it was long divided with authors now practically forgotten, with 'Artemus Ward,' and 'Josh Billings,' and the author of 'Sam Slick,' and when we remember how readily the same recognition is still given in England to any American who misspells or makes fritters of English, or who enters literature, as Lady Morgan's Irish hero entered a drawing-room, by throwing a back somersault in at the door. It must be remembered too that all the malodorous portions of Whitman's earlier poems were avowedly omitted from the first English edition of his works; he was expurgated and fumigated in a way that would have disgusted De Maupassant, and so the first presentation of him to his English admirers showed him clothed and in his right mind." Far as the poles asunder

in every way is Whitman from Lanier, of whom Higginson writes with fine discrimination and inevitable admiration. Lanier's critical genius is seen when he writes of Swinburne, "He invited me to eat; the service was silver and gold, but no food therein save pepper and salt;" and of William Morris, "He caught a crystal cupful of yellow light of sunset, and persuading himself to deem it wine, drank it with a sort of smile." But our author truly says that Lanier's best and fullest criticisms were upon Walt Whitman. Mr. Higginson ranks the poetry of Helen Hunt Jackson above that of all other American women, and thinks her only rival was her early schoolmate, Emily Dickinson. Whoever desires to learn what sort of man Osawatomie Brown really was, and what were the atmosphere of his home and the spirit of his family, should read Colonel Higginson's account, included here, of "A Visit to John Brown's Household in 1859," at North Elba, in the Adirondacks, at the time when the hero of Harper's Ferry was being tried and sentenced to death at Charlestown, Va. When Higginson spoke to them of the sacrifices their family were making for liberty, one member of it said, "I sometimes think that is what we came into the world for—to make sacrifices." Five of their family perished in Virginia attempting to liberate slaves. So deeply was Colonel Higginson impressed with the singularly lofty moral tone of that home that he came down from the mountains and out to the world again through the iron gorge of the wild Wilmington Notch, feeling, he says, that anyone must be very unworthy the society of such people who did not come forth a wiser and a better man for visiting them. Speaking of orators, the author remarks that it was said of Fox that every sentence of his came rolling in like a wave of the Atlantic, three thousand miles long. Of Peel it was said that he knew how to "make a platitude endurable by making it pompous." Great as were the orations of Burke, he was called "the dinner bell," because he usually scattered the members of the House of Commons. President Dwight of Yale, visiting Boston in 1810, described "the Boston style of oratory—a florid style."

Quaint Corners of Ancient Empires. Southern India, Burma, and Manila. By M. M. SHOEMAKER, author of *Islands of the Southern Seas* and *Palaces and Prisons of Mary Queen of Scots.* 8vo, pp. 212. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This is a book of immediate current interest. The Spanish-American War has produced many books on Cuba and Porto Rico, but not many as yet on the Philippines. Mr. Shoemaker takes us thither by way of Southern India, from Ceylon to fantastic Madura and stately Tanjore; then by Madras and the Bay of Bengal to Rangoon; up the Irrawaddy for a thousand miles almost to China; then back to Mandalay and its innumerable pagodas; then to the ruins of ancient Pagahu, with its ten thousand shrines; on to Prome, and thence to Rangoon again, where ship is taken for Manila. In his preface the author writes: "I have told the story of the friars in the Philippines as I learned it from the highest

English and American authorities in Manila, all of them men who have lived there for years; as I have read it in that standard work of Foreman's, *The Philippine Islands*, and also as the official records give it. It has not been pleasant writing, and it may be claimed that no good can come from its publication. Granted, so long as the archipelago belonged to another nation; but the United States are now responsible for what goes on in those islands, and certainly if the actions of those friars are condoned, if silence is allowed to drop its mantle on them, they will take heart and continue in their old lives—they have never known any other—with the conclusion on the part of the people that the Americans are no better or wiser than the Spaniards, and that one bad master has been exchanged for another." Mr. Shoemaker says the friars in the Philippines are of the Dark Ages, and their actions have been so terrible that they have completely wiped from the memory of the natives all recollection of any good they (the friars) may at any past time have accomplished, driving the people into taking vengeance even upon the churches and the graves of the dead. He declares that these friars are the power with which we will have the greatest struggle, because they have the most to lose through an enlightened form of government, and this struggle will be all the more deadly because they will work in secret and attack in the dark. It will be in vain that the valor of the American army and navy has made an end of Spanish rule and subdued the islands to order, if the friars are left to exercise their vicious, demoralizing, and cruel control over the people and to remain intrenched in their ill-gotten possessions. The government of the United States will make a terrible blunder for itself and for the Philippines if it fails to insure full religious liberty there and complete deliverance from priestly oppression and control. The disestablishment of the Church is a necessity to liberty and justice and honor. Bishop Doane, of Albany, asserts that the American authorities in Manila are keeping in force the old Spanish law under which no marriage is valid unless solemnized by a priest of the Roman Catholic Church. This law tends directly to concubinage, since large numbers refuse to recognize the priests in that capacity. Bishop Doane says that he has represented these facts to our government at Washington, but that his statements and appeals are ignored by the authorities. It is incredible folly and worse for any American administration to countenance such mediæval Romish intolerance and priestly tyranny.

A History of New Testament Times in Palestine, 175 *B. C.*-70 *A. D.* By SHAILER MATTHEWS, A.M., Professor of New Testament History and Interpretation in the University of Chicago. 12mo, pp. xi, 218. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, 75 cents.

This admirable compend of Jewish history is the first of a series of New Testament handbooks to be edited by this author, and written by various American scholars. The only other book of the series that is now ready is Professor M. R. Vincent's *History of Textual Criticism of*

the New Testament. The work before us is a plain, straightforward account of the history, sects, and Messianic hopes of the Jews, written without special literary attractiveness, dry, but scholarly, and with abundant reference to the sources and to the best recent literature. It is written in an historical and critical spirit, and the author never allows his Christian faith to quicken his pulse or make the dry bones of his materials live and move. His brief account of Jesus Christ (pp. 169–179) might have been written by a Unitarian. He calls Christ "a man in a unique and utterly unparalleled degree at one with a God whom from his boyhood he knew as Father"—a statement that any Unitarian might indorse. But this is not saying that the book teaches Unitarianism, as the author is treating Jesus only in certain historical relations, it not falling within his purpose to speak dogmatically of his Person. However, he says that Christ's Messianic destination first dawned upon him clearly at his baptism, which reminds us of certain notions of some of the heretical sects of the early Church. "In the very water his duty burst upon him like a voice from God. He was to be the Messiah whom John, in ignorance, had foretold. He, and he alone, must found the kingdom of God." There can be no doubt that the growth of Jesus's Messianic consciousness was gradual, but there can also be no doubt that that growth was synchronous with his mental development. It is interesting to note that our author is inclined to the view that Christ's ministry lasted not quite two years, and, as against Harnack, Blass, and McGiffert, he places the crucial date of the recall of Felix at 60 or 61. The book closes with genealogical tables and an excellent index.

Winter Adventures of Three Boys in the Great Lone Land. By EGERTON R. YOUNG. Crown 8vo, pp. 377. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This book follows one which was entitled *Three Boys in the Wild North Land.* In that volume the stories were those of the Summer and Fall; in this they are of the Winter and Spring. The author says: "In these books we have given the correct idea of the Indian as he is to-day in regions where we lived for years. The Gospel has transformed his once cruel nature, but has not marred his cleverness and skill as a hunter or a guide. The brief glimpses into his religious life are absolutely true." Of the former volume, about the adventures of three boys, a capable critic wrote: "From the author's long experience he has written a book of most thrilling adventure. His Indians are his personal friends, loving Christians, and yet with a marvelous Indian cleverness and sagacity equal to anything Fenimore Cooper ever portrayed. It is indeed a new thing in Indian literature to have here, in this most fascinating volume, wondrous adventures and exploits with red men who have renounced all their pagan abominations and have become earnest Christians, and yet are none the worse hunters and guides, but rather better for having done so." The book before us is of the same thrilling [illegible] The heroes are three noble boys from beyond the sea, who came

from Great Britain by the Hudson Bay Company's ship, and had months of exciting adventures in a wild country. Frank, the eldest, was the son of an English banker; Alec was a genuine Scottish lad, while Sam was a jolly Irish boy. Hunting and trapping, foxes and wolves and buffalo and moose and wild cats and bears and beavers and muskrats, geese and ducks and ptarmigan and eagles and partridges and owls—of these the book is full. Of winter sports and Indian games there is a plenty. It is an attractive and healthy book for boys, and for older people, too. It is well illustrated with pictures of scenes and experiences in the Great Lone Land.

Calvinism. By ABRAHAM KUYPER, D.D., LL.D., M.P., Professor in the Free University, Amsterdam; Member of the States General of Holland. 8vo, pp. 275. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

These six lectures were delivered in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J., last winter on the L. P. Stone Foundation. The titles are: "Calvinism a Life-system," "Calvinism and Religion," "Calvinism and Politics," "Calvinism and Science," "Calvinism and Art," and "Calvinism and the Future." This is the latest statement, explication, and defense of Calvinism; and the historic service which Calvin and his followers, despite the serious errors in some of their doctrines, have rendered to the world politically and religiously are ably and freshly set forth to best advantage by Dr. Kuyper, whose brilliant articles on "Pantheism's Destruction of Boundaries" appeared in our pages in 1893. His thinking is the best that Holland has to offer to-day, he being the ablest intellectual force in the religious life of the Netherlands in our time. And the style in which this gifted thinker writes shines with peculiar gleam and luster. Were there space, we would like to splendor our pages with large patches of it. The book containing these lectures lacks an index, and frequent typographical errors indicate a want of careful proofreading.

Historic Americans. By ELBRIDGE S. BROOKS. 8vo, pp. 384. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

These are inspiring sketches of the lives and characters of certain famous Americans held most in reverence by the boys and girls of this country, for whom the stories are here told. Beginning with John Winthrop and ending with U. S. Grant, Mr. Brooks includes Franklin, Otis, Washington, Samuel Adams, John and John Quincy Adams, Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Hamilton, Robert Morris, Jay, Marshall, Madison, Monroe, Eli Whitney, Jackson, Webster, Irving, Clay, Calhoun, Morse, Horace Mann, Lincoln, and Longfellow. In each case Mr. Brooks seizes a critical event to illustrate "the chief characteristic or impulse that led each man along the way of patriotism."

MISCELLANEOUS.

Flowers of Thought. Collected by CECELIA M. TIBBITS. 16mo, pp. 118. New York: Printed by Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, 55 cents, postpaid.

This choice little book is above the average of such collections. Good sense, an instinct for beauty and force, and a fine sensibility have guided Miss Tibbits in her wise and felicitous selection. We have not found one worthless bit in it. The extracts are satisfying, because, in all the many and various notes they strike, they really reach us and ring true to our sense of reality. Such books as this fit to a need. The busiest day, as Mrs. Sangster says in her Introduction to Miss Tibbits's book, may have some leisure moment when one can catch up such a volume and solace oneself with some bright flower of thought. When the London *Athenæum* expressed its preference for songs which are manifestly the product of English skies, saying, "The dog's-tooth violet is but an ill substitute for the rathe primrose, nor can we ever believe that the wood robin sings as sweetly in April as the English thrush," Rudyard Kipling wrote his half-dozen verses entitled "The Flowers," the burden of which is, "Buy my English posies, and I'll sell your heart's desire." Miss Tibbits's "Flowers of Thought" are gathered from many coasts of the Seven Seas over which the English-speaking breed of men hold dominion and whose shores they subdue and settle. We must not transfer these flowers to our pages, but catching sight of Emerson's saying, "The ornaments of a home are the friends who frequent it," we recall a better saying of Bishop Warren's, which needs to be added to make, with Emerson's, a complete statement, "It is the people who live in it that furnish a house." The plainest home is richly furnished if it be inhabited by noble persons. No table service of silver or gold can add anything to the intrinsic dignity of the feast where, though it be around a naked board, people of worth and sense are known of each other in the breaking of bread. One other choice bit in this choice book we cannot keep still about, because it is one of our dearest favorites. We remember the thrill of delight that went through us when we heard it read, one night years ago, from one of George MacDonald's works: "To have what we want is riches, but to be able to do without it is power." Seldom has so inspiriting a truth been put into so few words. Miss Tibbits's book is full of similarly fine things; and they are not simply fine, but strengthening and uplifting.

Illustrative Notes. A Guide to the Study of the International Sunday School Lessons, with Original and Selected Comments, Methods of Teaching, Illustrative Stories, Practical Applications, Notes on Eastern Life, Library References, Maps, Tables, Pictures, and Diagrams. By JESSE LYMAN HURLBUT and ROBERT REMINGTON DOHERTY. 8vo, pp. 388. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This book is a mine of wealth and a blaze of light. It holds in its treasure things new and old. Without any other book or help besides the Bible and this volume the Sabbath school teacher can be well in-

formed and finely equipped for work. The Sunday schools of thirty years ago did not even dream of the possibility of so complete a guide and hand-book as this. It is a thesaurus of biblical knowledge. Dr. Hurlbut's "Hints to the Teacher," with the sketches for the blackboard which follow each lesson, are greatly helpful. The school or the teacher who is ignorant of *Illustrative Notes* or fails to use it in Sunday school work makes an immense mistake.

The War with Spain. By Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE. Crown 8vo, pp. 450. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.50.

Puerto Rico. Its Conditions and Possibilities. By WILLIAM DINWIDDIE. Crown 8vo, pp. 294. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.50.

The Expedition to the Philippines. By FRANK D. MILLET. Crown 8vo, pp. 275. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.50.

The New-Born Cuba. By FRANKLIN MATTHEWS. Crown 8vo, pp. 291. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.50.

To-morrow in Cuba. By CHARLES M. PEPPER. Crown 8vo, pp. 361. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.

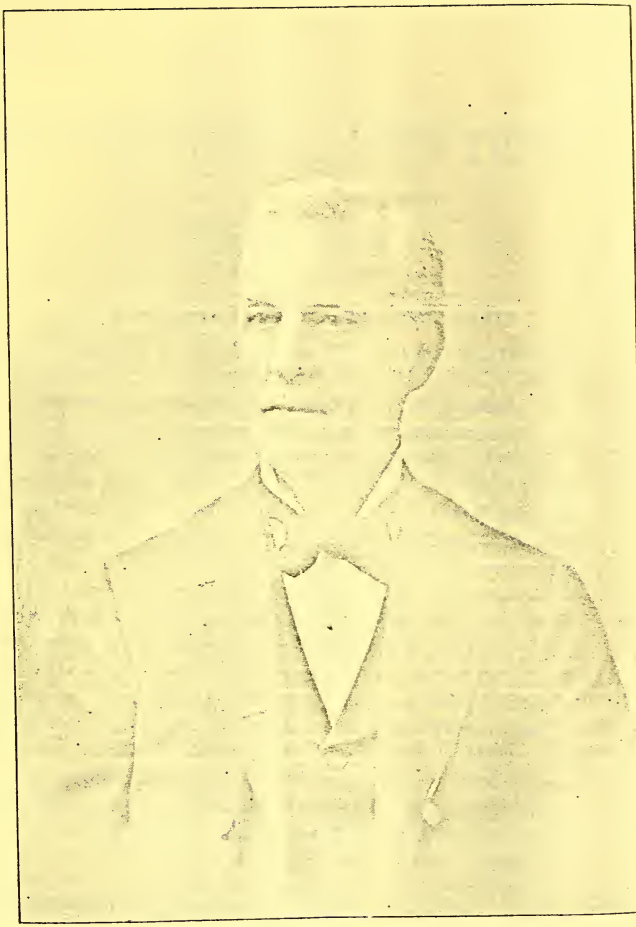
In the third generation of Harper Brothers that honorable publishing house under its recent reorganization holds on its way with increasing enterprise and extending plans. The splendid series of histories, of which the above-named volumes are a part, holds the mirror up to the thrilling and immensely significant events of our country's history in these intense and pregnant years. These histories are written by the ablest eye-witness observers and recorders of facts, strong, vivid, and brilliant writers, thoughtful and discerning students of the trend and meaning of affairs. They are furnished with the latest and most accurate maps, and profusely illustrated with all the photographic pictures of places, persons, scenes, and things that a reader could desire. They are issued in attractive style. Harper & Brothers render an important service to our day and generation in providing these careful, full, and animated records of contemporary American history.

Briton and Boer. Both Sides of the South African Question. 12mo, pp. 251. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This timely volume contains a strong discussion, pro and con, of the question now being fought over in Africa. The disputants are Right Hon. James Bryce; Sydney Brooks; A Diplomat; Dr. F. V. Engelenburg; Karl Blind; Andrew Carnegie; Francis Charmes; Demetrius C. Boulger; Max Nordau. All phases of the subject are treated. The most recent map of the Boer Republic and illustrations add to the value of the book. It is a reliable handbook of the South African situation.

Ars Recte Vivendi. By GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS. 12mo, pp. 136. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

A college professor happened to remark that about a dozen of the "Easy Chair" essays in *Harper's Magazine* so nearly cover the vital questions of hygiene, courtesy, and morality that they might be gathered into a volume entitled *Ars Recte Vivendi.* This volume is the fulfillment of his suggestion.



A. S. Hunt

METHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1900.

ART. I.—ALBERT SANFORD HUNT, D.D.

GREAT men are of two sorts, the men of force and the men of gentleness. It so happens, because this is God's world, that gentleness embodies the greatest of all powers. But some men achieve greatness of a kind by demonstration, energy, combat. Conspicuous talents may be their possession, conspicuous place may be their reward. Their labors may add to the sum of human happiness. The martyrs of freedom and the heroes of faith, the persecuted prophets who were born before the times were ripe, the insistent reformers who by very force of personality have compelled their generation to go forward—these are valiant figures. But, again be it said, no less great are others whose lives are lives of outward peace, who suffer no persecutions, who preach no startling reforms in Church or State, who are identified with no great social movements, whose greatness is found in character rather than in visible achievement. Such a man was Albert S. Hunt. He did no deeds likely to strike the attention of more than a thoughtful few; his published writings comprise only a few sermons and addresses. There was little to draw the public eye to him. In his life, as truly as in Horace Bushnell's, "there was no outward circumstance. . . . In such an uneventful career there would be scant material for a biography, if there were no 'epic of the inner life.'" His story, therefore, is not one of sharp contrasts, sudden transitions, hatreds, wars, adventures. It is a plain tale of quiet living, that in maturity "fulfilled the prophecy which anyone might have made over his cradle." His life was a stream with no

cataracts and few rapids, flowing from well-watered hills smoothly and strongly to the sea.

In his veins the blood of the Searses, the Bentons, the Sanfords, and the Hunts mingled. His granduncle, Aaron Sanford, was the first male member, class leader, steward, and local preacher of New England Methodism. The Hunts were English Quakers, who settled in Westchester County, New York. Aaron Hunt, the grandfather of Albert, was converted in the old John Street Church, in New York city. He was licensed to preach in 1790, and became the intimate friend of Asbury, Lee, and Garrettson. His work was done in the wide territory then within the New York Conference, where he was known as "Father Hunt." Plain, neat, prompt, efficient, he did a man's work in his long and laborious ministry, and lived to the ripe old age of ninety. Of his several sons, one, Joseph D., born in 1796, settled in Leedsville, Dutchess County, where in 1820 he married Miss Clara Benton. The little village, in one of the lovely valleys on the Connecticut border, was in the town of Amenia, about thirty miles from Poughkeepsie. Its best house was later the home of this enterprising country merchant and his wife. It was a genial and delightful home, made happy, as years went on, by the presence of five children, two of whom, however, were spared but a short time to the parents. Albert Sanford was born July 3, 1827. He lived at home until he was twenty. The great formative power of these years was his mother. She was a woman of modest tastes, refined, gentle, but positive and strong. The home over which she presided was sure to show appreciation for the best things in intellect and heart. She had not been blessed with a religious training, and only became a Christian after the death, at four years of age, of her firstborn son. Seeking for comfort, she found, while kneeling by her bedside at midnight, that her heart was "strangely warmed," as John Wesley's had been so many years before. Of John Wesley, however, she had no knowledge, nor of the experience through which he had passed. Unable to sleep, she roused her husband, and he, having received instruction in religion, explained to her the theory of the "change of heart," of which he knew only by hearing. "Thus," writes the son in his young man-

hood, "the whole night was spent, he explaining to her the nature of the change she had met with, and she in turn urging him to seek for that which she had found. . . . My father did not, however, experience religion until some ten or twelve years after." The mother thus remained the religious leader of the household. In the enjoyment of her rich experience she prayed ardently that Albert might become a good and useful man. At the age of ten years the boy was deeply impressed on overhearing the conversation of his mother with an unconverted aunt. He was restless and unhappy until, a few days later, when "Brother Sam. Weeks preached at Mr. North's" and an invitation was given, he stood upon the bench to ask for prayers. Next morning had come the sense of freedom. "My evidence was clear as sunlight," he wrote, some years later; "nothing troubled me, but I moved around, on earth, to be sure, and yet in heaven. It literally seemed to me as if I was light as a feather." The Christian purpose formed at that time was never abandoned. Through the fluctuations of religious experience Albert Hunt was a Christian for over threescore years.

It may be inferred from his own words that his religious training was of the solid and sober kind, more common in those days than in these. He relates of himself as a boy, "I used to take *Carvosso's Life*, and, throwing myself upon the bed in my kitchen chamber, weep by turns for sorrow and for joy." When sixteen he was baptized and received as a member in "the old church" at Amenia, by the Rev. Daniel De Vinne. From one member of the household besides his mother he was sure to receive help—his sister Emily, five years his junior, of marked early piety, whose death at the age of nineteen was so bitter a grief as to make an era in his life. But his brother, Andrew J., older than himself by three years, had no sympathy with his religious desires. Albert was serious and earnest, even in boyish days; Andrew, one of popular social gifts and more careless habits. It was not until a strong word of warning had been uttered by the younger brother that he gave heed to deeper things. He became a preacher, a man of prayer and integrity, a leader by reason of strength of character and remarkable talents; to him Albert looked with un-

bounded affection and admiration. In the mysterious extravagance of God twenty years of his fifty-seven were spent in a brave, pathetic fight against disease. But he made a deep mark on the character of many a man, on none more than that of his own brother.

Apart from the influence of the members of his own family on the youth of Albert Hunt, there was the community itself. Its first settlers had come from New England, and were lovers of learning, industry, and religious liberty. Their earnestness was shown in the early establishment of places of worship. In the old red meetinghouse Whitefield preached in 1770, and near there Freeborn Garrettson organized the first Methodist class of eight members about a score of years later. The society quickly gained strength. It had at various times such families identified with it as the Vails, the Havens, the Fosses, the Reynoldses, the Ingrahams, the Van Benschotens, and the Hunts. Well has the region been called "the old Methodist classic ground." Out of the needs of such a population naturally grew the famous Amenia Seminary. It was opened in 1835, and was soon put under the patronage of the New York Conference. Its trustees, teachers, and students came in part from these strong families of the neighborhood. The roll of its principals is a distinguished list of bishops and college presidents, then recent graduates of Wesleyan University. Joseph D. Hunt was one of the first and most loyal supporters of the seminary, and Albert entered as a student when eleven years old. The wholesome, busy, and happy life of an Amenia schoolboy was his—with brief intervals of absence—for about nine years. While still a student he taught penmanship. His parents were the confidential friends of the principals and their wives, and close association with these vigorous young minds deeply affected the growing lad. His ambition was kindled. His friends insisted that "it was evident enough to anybody who would be reasonable that Providence intended him for a merchant." But the boy himself, though obedient and loyal, yet could not—dared not—remain at home. His work as clerk in his father's store failed. He felt a claim, a divine call, as he believed, drawing him away to—he knew not what. One midwinter he left Leedsville, and after a short

business experience found the desire of his heart for a college education in process of fulfillment.

His good preparation enabled him to enter the sophomore class of Wesleyan University in the fall of 1848. The faculty was small, but in familiar contact with the student body. Albert Hunt became especially at home in the house of President Olin, who was then in feeble health, but whose "noble and commanding character was itself an inspiration to all the students under his charge." More than thirty years afterward Dr. Hunt recalled the vivid impression of Dr. Olin's majestic figure, trembling with excitement, as he delivered his last baccalaureate sermon. He mightily urged no easy-going, negligent, perfunctory life for those who sought the work of the ministry, but one of strenuous earnestness, a life inspired by high standards of scholarship—"Men who do not study are only less guilty than those who do not pray," said he—a life of valor, manliness, and consecration. Dr. Olin was a man of flavor as well as fire, and he became one of the first models of this earnest student. But, in spite of such helps, the young man thought college a hard place in which to live religion. He was accusing himself of pride and selfishness, worldliness, and a desire for worldly honors. To his comrades and professors, however, he seemed a "kindly, studious man of high ideals, his manner pleasant and winning;" or, as another puts it, "of a genial religious spirit, cheerful, charitable, sympathetic, energetic, and independent—greatly beloved—a scholar and a Christian."

In the long winter vacation of his sophomore year he taught at the academy in Goshen, Conn.; the other two winters of his course were similarly spent in Rhinebeck, N. Y. While teaching young children in the Ellerslie school house he made his home at the residence of Miss Mary R. Garrettson, the only child of Freeborn Garrettson. She became to him a second mother and Wildercliffe a second home. His historic sense was stirred by the relics of the house—the antique furniture, the portraits of Garrettson and his wife, then passed away, of Asbury and of Chancellor Livingston, the brother of Mrs. Garrettson. The traditions of other days were worthily maintained by "Lady G."—as he happily called his hostess—

who made the home so much a rendezvous for the strong personalities of the Church that what Asbury had called "The Travelers' Rest" Gilbert Haven named "the Methodist Mecca." Miss Garrettson was a little woman with a "mind of great vigor and extraordinary versatility," brilliant, generous, cheerful. And her character was transfused with a spiritual temper, sweet and wholesome to the last degree. In her home, as Albert Hunt said, "piety, intelligence, and politeness were not strangers." This "blessed woman, who has done so much," he wrote, "to make me what I am," pointed out his faults, cultivated him in conversation, taught him to love more deeply nature and good books. Here he fell under the spell of Bushnell and of the Port Royalists; here he met many a person of strength and note; here he learned that touch of old-school courtesy which added charm to his dignity. In this congenial home the young schoolmaster during these two winters came to a larger life. While his spiritual struggles were not calmed, while he still deplored his "proud, envious, jealous heart" and longed for purity, he felt among the literary, and social, and religious privileges of Rhinebeck an intimacy of communion with God to which he had been a stranger since leaving home. Well might he say, "I cannot begin to conceive what my life would have been if I had not known Miss Garrettson and the friends I have met at her home." In the "tabernacle room" at Wildercliffe he wrote his first sermon. It was from the text, 1 Pet. v, 6, 7, "Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in due time: casting all your care upon him; for he careth for you." The topic was the duty of humility and resignation to God. The preacher was not yet licensed. For some years he had been asking himself whether it was his duty to preach. After the first few sermons he dared to say, "The ministry is my calling." On January 18, 1851, he received his license from the Rhinebeck Quarterly Conference. Years after he wrote:

Phineas Rice was the presiding elder, and, as though it were only a week ago, I can see just his expression when he said, "I know you, my boy, it's the money you are after." It was his quaint way of letting me know that he appreciated the sacrifices I was supposed to be making

in becoming a minister. . . . Then he said to the brethren, "If you want to ask the boy any questions, you can do so. I have known him from his cradle. He is dyed in the wool!" No questions were asked, and so the solemn ordeal was ended.

Endowed with this new authority, and graced by the refining influence of this rare home, the young man returned and finished his college course in 1851—the valedictorian of his class of twenty-three. Among the men of his day—and there were giants—he was not hidden by any lack of mental or moral height.

For four years after graduation he remained as an instructor at his *alma mater*. The first year he was tutor in logic and rhetoric; the second, tutor in mathematics, assisting the new president, Augustus W. Smith, LL.D.; and from 1853 to 1855 adjunct professor of moral science and belles lettres. His weak lungs forbade him for a time to think of preaching regularly. As a teacher he was strict in his requirements for others, and applied the same high standards to himself. He believed that a Christian's influence in college depended very much on his scholarship. Such influence he coveted, desiring only sincerity more. "Popularity is nothing," he said, "where 'the true' must be sacrificed to gain it." The one aspect of his work which was remarkable was the religious. His own spiritual life was not yet mature, but it was intense. "There is much of the 'subjective' about me, perhaps too much," he confessed. He spent much time in prayer and in fasting. And this, it must be noted, was not to gratify any ascetic taste or selfish spiritual desire. His energy was devoted to Christian labor, not exhausted in Christian rapture. With all his activities he found time for personal work among the young men whom he fondly loved. The "revival of 1852" did not come without his faithfulness. By prayer, by friendly counsel, by judicious and patient appeal, one after another of those he coveted for his Master were brought into a Christian life. He prayed the catalogue through. Humbly grateful for one, he devoted himself with fresh faith to others. The endeavors and success of this hot-hearted young tutor stand almost without parallel.

Meanwhile, he was still unsettled about his life's direction.

Bishop Waugh wanted him for China, then Dr. Durbin for India. Many friends felt that he should continue to teach. His success in preaching encouraged him to believe, however, that here was his true calling; and at last he resigned his position on the faculty, against the remonstrance of students and professors and prudential committee. He was ordained a local deacon by Bishop Simpson at the Troy Conference. He undertook to preach at Hillside Chapel in Rhinebeck, but health broke completely, and in the summer of 1856 he went to Europe, accompanied by his brother Andrew, for five months of travel. Partly restored to health, he now spent two years and more preaching irregularly without fixed appointment. His grandfather died, his father added physical collapse to business reverses, his brother was wholly laid aside by ill health. Caring for the humble concerns of the home, reading, praying, looking for "the bright light within the clouds," the young preacher endured. At last came the moment of release. Openings appeared, and health promised better things. In May, 1859, he was ordained a local elder by Bishop Janes at the New York Conference—Cyrus D. Foss standing by his side—and was admitted to the Conference on trial. He was at once transferred to the New York East Conference, and stationed at the Nathan Bangs—now the New York Avenue—Church in Brooklyn. In that city his whole subsequent life was passed. He spent two years at each of his first two charges, the second being South Fifth Street, now Saint John's. Then, the time limit being extended, he served for three years each at First Place, Washington Street, Hanson Place, First Place again, and Pacific Street. These were strong churches. He succeeded strong men, but did not suffer by the comparison. Invitations to other positions, pastoral and educational, came to him unsought. He treated them with respect for himself and loyalty to his Church. Once he was seized by a bishop for the presiding eldership, but after a few days of service was recaptured by his determined church. When he was received into full membership in the Conference his presiding elder said, "An excellent, godly man, a superior preacher, and one of the best pastors I ever met." This reputation he sustained throughout. He took for his patterns

Wesley, Fletcher, Summerfield. His character commanded universal respect. He showed a delicacy and firmness of administration which accomplished results, conciliated opponents, and attached to him firmly the best people of his congregations. As pastor and counselor he was sympathetic and spiritual, a very tower of refuge. His wise judgment of men, his devotion to the Church, his able and devout ministry brought almost uniformly growth in membership, increase of benevolence, and deep development of Christian character.

As a preacher he was clear, strong, and persuasive. He had a chaste and beautiful style, a nice choice of words, a sense of the music of the English tongue. But literary merit with him was not an end, but a means. When in his early days he was once about to preach, his grandfather warned him, "Don't try to say fine things to tickle the ear; try to reach the heart." This sage advice he followed. Himself fulfilled the conditions of power named in his address before the Methodist Centennial Conference at Baltimore in 1884, on "The Aim and Character of Methodist Preaching," in that he was "perfectly persuaded that the Almighty had laid his hand upon . . . [him], and 'thrust . . . [him] out;' that . . . [he was] God's ambassador." The sermon, therefore, to him was not an oration, but a divine message. Preaching was great and serious business. He carefully prepared, but was natural and forcible in delivery. Moreover, his message was the word. He was an exegetical preacher, having confidence in the power of Scripture, if he might lay it bare, to grip the hearts of hearers. To the study of the Scriptures he devoted himself. On one trip of eleven weeks through the West he read the New Testament and Psalms entire. "I believe I know my Bible," he remarked with pardonable pride. He was not disturbed because his preaching was not of the same pattern as his neighbor's. Each man, he reasoned, must be true to himself or fail to meet the claims of God, who knew the individual gifts of his ambassador before he commissioned him. While all honored this high-souled preacher of Christ, it was the refined and intelligent with spiritual aspirations who most greatly profited by his ministry. But his heart-power told on all. The truth he preached had searched and cleansed his own

soul. Conviction begat conviction. At once scholarly and ardent, he instructed and converted.

About his methods there was nothing spectacular. His preaching was timely, but never sensational. His evangelism was earnest, but not extravagant. Additions to the church came not only in one month, but the year round. With only a few accessions notable for size, for a full twenty years he received on probation nearly thirty persons a year. Adults came in sufficient numbers to prove the virility of his Gospel; the great throng of young people demonstrated its sweetness. In his dealing with children he was tender and wise, a good shepherd of the lambs. Over young men the remarkable power that had appeared in college continued to evidence itself. He delighted in their society, he had for chosen friends among them a passionate affection which could not rest until its objects had come into the friendship of Him who, "beholding" a certain young man, "loved him." He thought of them, dreamed of them, grieved with all their waywardness, rejoiced with every hopeful sign, talked, prayed, and fairly loved them to Jesus Christ, taking care that they were converted to Christ and not to himself. The place that wife and children might have filled in this loving heart seemed to be held by these "sons in the faith." The last entry in the Journal, which covers half a century, concerns a young man: "Blessings on the dear friend, whose love is worth so much to me."

On April 1, 1878, Albert S. Hunt left the pastorate and entered upon his duties as a corresponding secretary of the American Bible Society. He had long been interested in Bible work, and for twelve years had been a member of the important Committee on Agencies of the Bible Society. When, disabled by old age, Dr. Joseph Holdich resigned, many felt, as did the members of the New York East Conference, that the selection of Dr. Hunt as the Methodist representative in that important office was "eminently wise and judicious," giving "satisfaction to the whole denomination," and that "his general culture, broad catholicity, and untiring devotion would assure his success." The success was as large as any friend could have desired. For fraternal labors with his colleagues he was

peculiarly fitted; for the details of office work he had almost a genius; for the persuasion of men and the untangling of difficulties he had wisdom and grace; for the platform presentations of the cause he had fluency, dignity, and that convincing power that comes only with sincerity. In a word, "the exacting duties of his office," as a leading religious journal phrased it, "he discharged with great ability." He was punctual and thorough in his work, conservative in his judgment, refined and impressive in his public speech. The long and frequent journeys undertaken in the interest of the society brought him into every State of the Union, and won for himself a reputation and for the society a hearing that was of inestimable value.

The position of Dr. Hunt in the American Bible Society was especially happy because of his fine union of denominational loyalty with the broadest fraternal spirit. He was a Methodist to the core—a man with his ancestry and training could scarcely have been less. He wrote of a friend in words that justly described himself: "She was not sectarian, for she loved the image of Christ wherever she found it; but she did have a decided attachment to the clear doctrines, and, above all, to the simple usages of the Church of her choice." He believed in Methodism—its doctrines, its methods, its ministry. But so warm were his relations with other Christians that some of his nearest friends, even before he became secretary, were found in the pulpits of other denominations, and at his death "not Methodists alone, but the churches of Christ universally, lamented the loss."* A Brooklyn Congregational minister, whose word was not spoken lightly, wrote him but a few months before his departure, "All the city loves you, and you are always welcome everywhere." He was like an associate pastor in some of the prominent churches of other communions in Brooklyn, having preached in one of them more than one hundred times. He found no obstacles to this fellowship, because he looked for unity, not union. In his address on this subject, given at the Second Ecumenical Methodist Conference, in 1891, he distinguished between those drawn together by similar taste and temperament, those united by

* *Baptist Examiner.*

kindred views concerning doctrines and modes of worship and Church polity, and those who are one in Christian unity by dwelling in God, "encompassed by the divine unity." From this unity, union might, and to some degree ought to, follow. But he was ready to admit the separate missions of many bodies of Christians and, without looking for doctrinal or ecclesiastical uniformity, say, with Wesley, "If thy heart be as my heart, give me thy hand."

In this he was thoroughly Methodistic. If Methodism means anything, it means such an emphasis on character that forms and governments and doctrinal symbols sink into a subordinate place. And the great service of this man of broad fellowship was to his own denomination. Its various interests, evangelistic and educational, were near his heart. He was the recording secretary and a most efficient member of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He had been since 1866 one of the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society, and had become its senior clerical member. Here his wide information, ripe judgment, and personal amiability were most highly appreciated. As a member of the New York East Annual Conference he gave himself without reserve to service on important committees and to the duties of a trustee. His labors as treasurer of the board through a period of fourteen years are perhaps unequaled for their faithfulness and value. His Conference honored him. In 1872 he was recognized as a leader among its members, and was elected at the head of its delegation to the General Conference. His most prominent service here was as chairman of the committee to receive and introduce fraternal delegates, whose duties he performed in a surpassing manner. At the General Conference of 1876 he was again one of the New York East delegation. At the General Conference of 1884, where for the third time he represented his Conference, he was the choice of many for the episcopacy. Suggestions and solicitations looking to eminent positions within the gift of the Church were not new to him. Modest as to his own qualifications, supremely anxious to know and to do the will of God, he was found at such times before God in prayer, committing himself, his desires, his future into the Father's hands. Thus it

was now. His attitude was a noble model. So far was he from seeking the office that he shrank from the thought of an election to it. He was not unduly elated by the marks of his brethren's regard, but he discouraged conversation on the subject, and gave himself no anxiety, saying in his private Journal:

> The hearts of all men are in the hands of God, and I pray that he will do with me what he pleases, not permitting either friend or opponent to bring anything to pass which is not in harmony with his plan for me and for the Church. Thy will be done—O God, hear me! Thy will be done! My life now must be short, at longest, and I am satisfied that my true rest can only be found if I am what and where the Lord would appoint.

So, when others were chosen, he was not depressed, but with strong and cheerful heart pressed on to better things in the days which yet remained. This surely is a test of manhood. He who will assume duties with cheerfulness, and be passed by without bitterness, is possessed by the spirit which is called sometimes "love," and again "God."

In 1886 Dr. Hunt's travels were again extended over the sea. This time he went as the representative of his denomination to Irish and British Wesleyanism, and of the American Bible Society to the British and Foreign Bible Society. His duties were discharged to the complete satisfaction of those whom he greeted and those on whose behalf he went. A four months' tour, reaching as far as longed-for Rome, gave a needed rest. A short trip in 1892 and a slightly longer one in 1896 completed the four foreign tours which invigorated his health, expanded his horizon, and freshened his spirit for enterprise and toil.

The culminating point of his public service, however, was to be found on this side of the sea. In 1872 the General Conference authorized the appointment of three delegates as a fraternal commission to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The bitter feeling between the two Churches was old and deep. After the General Conference of 1848 had declined to receive officially the representative of the Church South, Dr. Lovick Pierce, relations of brotherhood had wholly ceased, never to be resumed—the warning came—until the

Northern Church made the advance. Some irregular approaches had been attempted after the war, but the General Conference of the Church South was shy of recognizing any overtures which did not accord a full and official recognition of its standing as a properly constituted Church. The resumption of friendly relations, so eagerly desired by the better spirits both North and South, was under the circumstances an affair of much moment. When the bishops made public the names of those chosen for its accomplishment, the delegates were seen to be perfectly adapted to the work in hand. Dr. Hunt, because of his temper and his already pleasant relations to the Southern Church, was the ideal chairman. The tact and genial wit of Clinton B. Fisk, the eloquence of that master of assemblies, Charles H. Fowler, would have been incomplete without the catholic spirit, the intuitive sympathy, the gentle frankness of Albert S. Hunt. The delegates met in Louisville in May, 1874, to perform the duties which they themselves, and the bishops, and the General Conference all recognized as delicate and important. The history and the situation had been carefully studied. They prayed together. On May 8—"the great day," as Dr. Hunt calls it in a personal memorandum—the sun was bright, the air clear and bracing; heaven seemed to smile upon the enterprise. The Northern visitors were received by the whole Conference rising, were cordially greeted, and lovingly answered. Dr. Hunt spoke first. He had a conscious sense of God's presence, perfect composure, and no anxiety. He frankly recognized the differences of opinion, but reminded his hearers that there was much more in which they agreed. In both Churches was evidence of union with Christ. In him and his love they were brothers. They had a common history, a common heritage in what the "venerated Olin called 'the daylight doctrines of Methodism.'" The work to be accomplished summoned them to oneness of heart and effort. Turning to the aged Dr. Pierce, seated upon the platform, he concluded by presenting him with a letter written by Bishop Asbury to Freeborn Garrettson, dated at Charleston in January, 1786. The tender sentiment of the occasion and of the man melted all hearts. General Fisk wrote in 1879: "How

brightly the days at Louisville come to me now, across the five intervening years, when your 'face shone as an angel's,' and you said the first golden words of fraternity." Dr. John Poisal, a prominent Southern minister, declared: "It was a memorable day in the history of our common Methodism. Dr. Hunt made a most felicitous speech. It was in admirable taste, and the effect upon the General Conference and the vast audience was overwhelming." Again, in his paper, the *Baltimore Episcopal Methodist*, Dr. Poisal said:

> Modest, yet brave, able and ingenious, they proceeded to unfold their mission in a manner that disarmed criticism and won all hearts by the simple inspirations of our common Methodism. Every eye was moistened, the heart moved upward to God by its own action, and the contracted vessels of the soul could only find relief in the full burst of praise and thanksgiving that went up from a thousand grateful voices.

The scene is happily no longer unique. Its significance lay in this, that then, for the first time since the civil strife, the Churches of the North and the South stood with clasped hands, eye to eye, and "Brother!" falling from trembling lips. It was Albert S. Hunt and his colleagues who, under God's blessing, joined the outstretched hands in friendship and called forth the hesitating word. At first the mission was counted a complete success. Then difficulties seemed to thicken and clouds to gather; but the work was not abandoned. As chairman of the delegation Dr. Hunt became to the Southern Church the representative of the movement for fraternity. Correspondence followed with leading Southern men. How much was done through this personal influence to heal old wounds, to come to clearer understanding and closer sympathy, can scarcely be known. Certain it is that a step forward had been taken. Fraternity, in the words of Dr. Pierce himself, was already established. To Dr. Hunt was given chief credit for kindling the situation. His later relations with the Southern bishops, ministers, and laymen were so cordial that none could question the establishment of a real unity. He, being dead, yet speaketh the words that make for peace. His kindliness has drawn into closer fellowship the men of North and South. May the work so nobly begun by him

and his helpers be carried to glorious completion in the not far future!

The life of Dr. Hunt during the last two decades was more secluded than had been his wont. His health, so frail in early manhood, had become better established—while not robust—with the passing years. But his withdrawal from the pastoral office left him more alone. He had remained unmarried, and his aunt had lived with him as the head of his household. Later his mother came. An invalid for much of the time, she was "one of the most patient and wise of Christian women," a joy in the home and a staff of strength. Now came a period of bereavement. Miss Garrettson died in 1879; Dr. Hunt's dear friend, Mrs. Olin, a few weeks later; his mother, at the age of eighty, the following year; and his brother in 1881. "O, how empty the world seems!" he said when the mother had gone. Yet he did not allow himself to sink into gloom. The pleasures of life were not outgrown. He was as young in feeling as a generation before. Work still remained. "I am not sorry to be old, but I shall be sad enough to have a fruitless old age." He was ambitious to improve. He kept himself intellectually fresh by new study and new writing. His tone was cheery and hopeful. Even after his aunt, too, had been taken from him, he could feel, "I am never alone, for the 'Ever Blessed,' who calls me no longer a servant, but a friend, abides with me, communes with me, and comforts me." He had come into his inheritance of the peace that passeth understanding. "I humbly trust that my days of fret and worry are ended, and that I have come to the sweetness and quiet of my Indian summer." "I have a certain poise and rest of soul which must be from God." "He forgives my sins, so that the past is no longer a burden. He has a mansion made ready, so that the great future is secure. Now let me live by the moment, taking each day as a new gift from God."

Then the body began to show more plainly that it was failing. A bad attack of *grippe*, in 1897, left him in a state of nervous depression. Outside work had to be largely surrendered. And yet his wish was granted that he "might work on with a clear mind and a warm heart until the end is at hand." His

last address was delivered in the chapel at Wesleyan University, with which his life had been so identified, June 28, 1898, when he accepted, on behalf of the trustees, the portrait of his dear friend Bishop and ex-President Foss. His address was so affectionate in spirit, so chaste in language, and so elevated in thought as to be a benediction to its hearers. This speech referred largely to the past; his last sermon, preached in Hanson Place Church, Brooklyn, the Sunday before his death, had a forward look. The text was Luke vii, 11, etc., the story of the resurrection of the son of the widow of Nain. His notes for this sermon conclude as follows:

> The doctrine of the resurrection of the dead is the great central doctrine of Christianity. . . . The recognition of friends after death seems to me to be a doctrine well sustained by the three recorded instances of the resurrection of the dead by Christ. He gave the ruler's daughter to her parents, her nearest and dearest friends. He gave back Lazarus to his sorrowing sisters. He delivered the only son to the widowed mother. So I argue that Jesus, ever the same in heart, will see to it that friends are restored to friends in the world to come. This bliss awaits us, and may the Prince of Life have all the glory!

The next Thursday he left his office, not well, but expecting to return by Saturday. When that day arrived pneumonia had rapidly developed. The "comfortable conviction" he had once expressed, that the Friend who gave himself for him would either bear him suddenly away or would make all his bed in sickness, was justified by the facts. Friends anxiously watched over him, and the end came quickly. Early on the Lord's Day morning, September 11, 1898, alone with the nurse, he went quietly to sleep. How blessed must have been the awakening in the "fellowship of dear ones in the upper home"—fellowship for which he had so longed!

In the beautiful church which had been his home for years the funeral services were held. Here his prayers had breathed out the deep desires of the people; here he had broken the bread of the holy sacrament with words of spiritual nourishment; and here he lay in the silent dignity of death, while they whom he had loved and with whom he had labored gathered about to do him honor. And then the mortal body was laid to rest in the family plot at Rhinebeck; the world moved

on; but here and yonder one and another of the young and glad, of the comfortless and lonely, knew "that there had passed away a glory from the earth."

For that quiet life had taken strong hold upon many. Albert S. Hunt was never one of the lavish, flexible souls who win sudden and fleeting popularity. He was habitually serious, and believed from his youth that he lacked in affability. His friendship was of slow growth, but its roots struck deep, and held. Wherever he went people trusted him. He had a fine sense of honor and was scrupulously true. He believed not only in "the daylight doctrines of Methodism," but in daylight living by Methodists. A certain impression of selflessness, charity, and high purity went out from him. Into its atmosphere the sinful and the sad loved to come, that it might bathe them as with heavenly light. He was tolerant of imperfection, and could without apparent repugnance be close to the narrow, the severe, the unrefined. He had no word of bitterness for an enemy. He preferred to be silent where he could speak no good. But it was only among his intimate friends that he felt he was understood. Some men shine brightly by friction, flash when struck, are at their highest in excitement and debate. Not so with him. He was at his best in the circle of his closest friends. Anecdote and humor flowed freely then; memory unrolled its treasures. He opened in the genial air of friendship. Only there could it be known how fragrant was his heart.

He was self-controlled, a man of judicial balance. He had the sense of history which distinguishes the real reformer from the cheap iconoclast. He lived simply. Careful in financial habits, by judicious investments he had accumulated such a property that he was able to make generous bequests to the causes to which his life had been given. His richest gifts went to Wesleyan University. Here he had studied, taught, and preached. He had received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the college in 1873; he had become a trustee in 1888. It was fitting that the library which he had gathered through many years, and which seemed to his imagination like an assembly of familiar friends, should here find a new home. His means had sufficed to bring together fifty-

three hundred volumes, besides twenty-three hundred pamphlets—few simply for age or curiosity, fewer in any foreign language. Four fifths of them were theological books, including the standard doctrinal and historical works of the Christian Church—a library indicative of catholic sympathies and of cultured taste, fine editions and handsome bindings adding an air of richness to the whole.

The book-plate which he designed was appropriately covered with white lilies. Its motto, "Give me light," was significant of the fearless and guileless nature of the man. Let none mistake his meekness for weakness. There was no pretense of strength, but the firm chin, the dilating nostril spoke the resolution that lay behind that gentleness. Confidence was bestowed on him oftener than received from him; he was the support, others leaned on him. He was like the Matterhorn —not so high, it may be, as some of its clustering neighbors, but lonely, clean, and strong, drawing to itself the wandering cloud that loves to be the comrade of that solitary height. His character can best be measured, not by comparison with showier men, but by the simple, old-time sayings of that Sermon on the Hill which echoes like a divine summons down all the years: "Blessed are the meek: . . . blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: . . . blessed are the merciful: . . . blessed are the pure in heart: . . . blessed are the peacemakers." By these he lived; the rewards of these he inherits.

Herbert Welch

Art. II.—McGIFFERT'S APOSTOLIC AGE—A CONVERSATION.

Gerard, Dolan, and Karl are friends who have been trained in different ways and to different habits of thought. Gerard is an intelligent and enthusiastic layman, the teacher of a large Bible class, and an active member of the Congregational Church. Dolan is a minister in the Presbyterian Church, full of good works, an able preacher and pastor, and universally beloved among his people. Karl is a Baptist minister, equally devout and efficient in every good word and work. They meet to spend a social hour, and their conversation takes the turn which appears in the following pages. There are many who may be interested in hearing these friends talk:

Gerard. "My dear brethren, I am especially glad to be with you this quiet hour, for I want to hear what you think about this new book which has provoked so much criticism and seems to be disturbing some people very deeply. I have so little leisure that I cannot give much attention to these critical questions, and, indeed, if I had the time, I fear I have not sufficient scholarship and ability to deal with the points at issue. What do you think, Dolan, of McGiffert's *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age?* I see that the General Assembly of your Church has expressed itself quite adversely."

Dolan. "I confess, my dear friends, that I am not only deeply disturbed but also very much grieved that the successor of our late Dr. Philip Schaff, *nomen venerabilis*, should have presumed to publish views so utterly subversive of the Christian faith and so inconsistent with the standards of his own Church, which he is solemnly sworn to maintain. You will understand, therefore, that my opinions and sympathy are in full accord with the action of the General Assembly, and I indorse the overture of the Pittsburg Presbytery which declares this book 'the most daring and thoroughgoing attack on the New Testament that has ever been made by any accredited teacher of the Presbyterian Church in America.'"

Karl. "Doubtless your opinion, Dolan, is in harmony with

that of a majority of the ministers and members of your Church, but I am persuaded there is a large and increasing minority who think quite differently. I have conversed with several of your most distinguished divines, who assure me that, while not agreeing with Professor McGiffert in many of his views, they see no good reason for disturbance or alarm in the Church. The critical judgments and results reached by this eminent scholar are nothing new; they have been under discussion for more than half a century, and not a few of them are nearly as old as Christianity itself. It seems to me that we ought to be very cautious how we commit the Church to the hazardous issue of making the foundations of the Christian faith depend on a question of the origin, authorship, and date of any ancient writing. I, for one, should feel deeply disturbed if I were obliged to think that my faith in Christ and in God rested on such a basis."

G. "I infer from what Dolan says that McGiffert has made some hostile attack on the New Testament and opened questions which tend to unsettle Christian faith. May I ask if these questions are of such a nature that a layman like myself can comprehend them and judge for himself as to their character and tendency? Will you not tell us briefly just what the points at issue are, and wherein you think the positions of this new book are inconsistent with loyalty to the faith and fellowship of the Church?"

D. "The author tells us in his Preface that the scope of his volume leads him to touch on a large proportion of all critical questions within the province of the literature, the exegesis, and the theology of the New Testament. On all these questions he seems in general to depart from traditional beliefs. To begin with, he expresses doubt whether John the Baptist knew or believed Jesus to be the Messiah before the time he was cast into prison (p. 11), and finds it difficult to accept the statements of John i, 29–34, as historical. In the face of explicit statements of the three synoptic gospels (Matt. xvi, 28; Mark ix, 1; Luke ix, 27) he says (p. 24) that 'we cannot be certain that Jesus declared that the Son of man would return within the lifetime of some of those whom he addressed.' Our first gospel is not from Matthew the

publican, but 'evidently from the pen of a Christian of the second or third generation, and the apostolic name which has attached to it in tradition is due simply to the fact that it was supposed at an early day to be a translation of the *Logia* of Matthew, doubtless because it incorporated the greater part of that work and superseded it in the use of the Church' (p. 576). The tradition, also, which makes Luke the author of the third gospel and of the Acts 'can hardly be maintained' (p. 433). The gospel was written after the destruction of Jerusalem, during the last decade or two before the end of the first century (p. 577). As for the fourth gospel, we are told (p. 616) that it contains a large body of genuine apostolic matter; and though the picture of Christ is one-sided its several features are in the main trustworthy, and though the discourses, in the form in which we have them, are the composition of the author they embody Christ's genuine teaching, at least to some extent. So much we can be sure of, even though we ascribe the gospel to a disciple of John instead of to John himself, and more than this it is impossible to claim even if we ascribe the gospel to John. So that the question of authorship is, after all, of no great practical importance."

G. "Am I to understand, then, according to this new book, that not one of our four gospels is certainly from the hand of an eyewitness of the things recorded?"

D. "Well, I have given you the author's statements mainly in his own words. He does not absolutely deny the Johannine authorship of the fourth gospel, but rather admits that the language of John i, 14, and the opening words of the First Epistle of John involve the claim of a personal disciple and eyewitness of Jesus Christ, and that this fact 'seems to make direct Johannine authorship necessary' (p. 615). He affirms that the first epistle 'was certainly written by the same hand as the gospel.' He also admits the general accuracy of the traditional origin of Mark's gospel, and thinks that Mark derived much of his information from Peter and that many of Peter's characteristics appear in the writing. Nevertheless, Mark has incorporated additional information received from Christians in Jerusalem, and seems also to have

made some use of written accounts more or less fragmentary. It is indeed refreshing and almost reassuring to read on page 573 that 'Mark followed the simple and straightforward plan of recounting, without comment, such events in Christ's life and such utterances as were known to him, or seemed most characteristic, as nearly as possible in chronological order. He wrote, moreover, in a picturesque and graphic, though decidedly colloquial, style, and the result is a portrait of Christ which, though it is drawn only in barest outline, is more vivid than that presented in any of the other gospels and carries upon its very face the marks of truth.'"

K. "Will you not permit me at this point to raise the question whether, if we are thus assured of the truthfulness of Mark's gospel, it is quite fair for any one of us to jump to the conclusion that McGiffert's views concerning the other gospels must needs imperil the foundation of Christianity? Suppose the other gospels were written near the close of the first century, or even later, and contain some statements of doubtful historical value. Matthew and Luke confirm nearly all that is recorded in Mark. I am inclined to think that if every other book of the New Testament were stricken out of existence, the Gospel according to Mark alone contains the substance of all that is fundamental to Christianity."

G. "Your remark, Karl, has a force and bearing which I at once perceive, and I am becoming profoundly interested in this matter; but I fear if our friend Dolan proceeds at once to answer you it may precipitate a controversy prematurely. I would prefer to have him first tell us the other main positions of this volume on the apostolic age. What about the Acts and the epistles?"

D. "Professor McGiffert maintains that the Acts and the third gospel are by the same writer, but not directly from the hand of Luke, the companion of Paul. Its author made use of older sources, among which are the so-called 'we passages;' but the book is no mere collection of documents. A careful use is made, as in the composition of the third gospel, of all accessible testimony, and the material has been cast into a well-arranged artistic piece of history. The author's sources of information were excellent and trustworthy, but his construc-

tion of sundry details is occasionally open to question. His conception, for example, of the gift of tongues at Pentecost was that of a speaking in foreign languages (p. 52) rather than the ecstatic form of speech which Paul refers to in 1 Cor. xiv. He considers it a remarkable fact that the author seems to have made no use of Paul's epistles, all of which must have been written long before he composed his treatise (p. 436); and his 'knowledge of events is less accurate and complete than might be expected in one who had been personally associated for any length of time with Paul' (p. 237).

"The epistles of Paul to the Galatians, Thessalonians, Corinthians, Romans, Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, and Philippians are accepted as genuine, and believed to have been written in the order named. Rom. xvi, 1–23, however, is thought to have no proper place in the Roman epistle, being rather 'a brief note intended to introduce and commend Phebe to the Ephesian Christians' (p. 275), and the so-called Epistle to the Ephesians was not addressed to the Church at Ephesus, but was a 'circular letter addressed to a number of churches, with most of which the author was not personally acquainted' (p. 380). There were four epistles to the Corinthians; the first, no longer extant, is referred to in 1 Cor. v, 9, and perhaps part of it may be seen in the passage 2 Cor. vi, 14, to vii, 1, which appears like an interpolation in its present place, having no natural connection with what precedes and follows it; the second is our present first epistle; the third is now to be found in 2 Cor. x–xiii, and is apparently the one referred to in 2 Cor. ii, 4, and vii, 8; the fourth is our 2 Cor. i–ix. The pastoral epistles can hardly be, in their present form, from the hand of Paul, but such passages as 2 Tim. i, 9–11, 15–18, ii, 1–13, and most of chapter iv, appear to be genuinely Pauline, and warrant the conclusion that authentic letters of Paul to Timothy and Titus have been worked over by another hand and combined with other matter quite un-Pauline which bears unmistakable traces of a later date.

"As for the other New Testament books, we are told that the Epistle to the Hebrews was probably written in the time of the emperor Domitian, and 'it is extremely unlikely that it was addressed to Jewish Christians at all' (p. 465). The Epis-

tle of James was probably written by a Hellenistic Jew in the latter part of the first century. First Peter is assigned to the same date, and the novel theory is propounded that its author may have been Barnabas. Second Peter contains evidences of post-apostolic origin, and might have been written as late as the end of the second century. The Epistle of Jude, which is so freely quoted in Second Peter, was probably written during the first quarter of the second century. The First Epistle of John is believed to have the same author as the fourth gospel, but its real authorship, as well as that of Second and Third John, is uncertain. And, finally, we are assured that 'if the apostle John was the author of the fourth gospel, he cannot have written the Apocalypse' (p. 622). That prophetic work appears to be a composite out of earlier apocalyptic documents, both Jewish and Christian, and to have been issued in its present form in the latter part of the reign of Domitian. These are, in brief, the conclusions published in this book on the apostolic age, and I submit that they are radical in the extreme, revolutionary in tendency, and of a nature to unsettle the faith of the Church in the Holy Scriptures."

G. "Well, Dolan, I confess that all these statements, put forth as conclusions of scholarly and scientific research, are to me quite new and startling. I shall be at a loss to know just how to think and act in reference to them when, as a Sunday school teacher, I meet my Bible class. In our Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, also, I sometimes hear young men and women inquiring for light upon these questions of criticism, and I have had to confess my ignorance and inability to explain the arguments by which such conclusions are reached. Do you think that this volume of McGiffert would be suitable to put in the hands of our young people?"

D. "No; I believe it would be a very unsafe guide for one who is seriously in search of the truth. I regard it even as a dangerous book to be put in the hands of one who has not been thoroughly set on his guard against its seductive arguments. Besides its line of thought and references to other writers on the same subjects are unfamiliar to ordinary readers, and would bewilder rather than instruct them."

G. "But do tell me how I am to obtain any trustworthy in-

formation on these questions. I certainly desire to know how learned and conscientious men arrive at conclusions so remarkable. Is there no other book wherein I may obtain a fair and simple statement of the facts and of the arguments on both sides of this controversy? What do you say, friend Karl?"

K. "I am disposed to think that there are no books and no arguments on these questions of biblical criticism that will prove of much value to anyone who is either incompetent or unwilling to think for himself. If a person of ordinary intelligence cannot read, without danger to his Christian faith, the carefully prepared and conscientiously maintained reasons of a scholar, like the author of the volume in question, for believing that the pastoral epistles, for example, are not in their present form altogether the work of Paul, but are rather a later expansion of notes once addressed to Timothy and Titus, his faith in Christ must rest on precarious foundations."

D. "That may be very well, Karl, for you to say for yourself. A man of your learning and ability may safely explore these new fields of scientific research; but is it not a fact that most of our young people do not think for themselves? They have been brought up with a different conception of the Bible from that which this volume presents, and there is reasonable fear that to overthrow their inherited beliefs would undermine their respect for the Scriptures as the word of God."

K. "But suppose, Dolan, that many of these inherited conceptions of the Bible are erroneous; is it wise or is it fair—nay, let me put it strongly—is it honest and honorable to withhold a knowledge of all the facts from people young or old who desire to know them? Some of the views presented in this volume are entirely peculiar to Dr. McGiffert. The suggestion that Barnabas was the author of First Peter, and the opinion that the Epistle to the Galatians is the earliest of Paul's writings, must be judged on their own merits. But in the main the views set forth in this book are not new or strange; they have been maintained by many eminent biblical scholars in Germany, England, and America, and not a few of them are gaining favor all the time among erudite clergymen and laymen. Why not encourage our people to examine these subjects for themselves, and make them familiar with the

opinions of the most eminent biblical scholars of our day, and with the reasons which they give in support of their opinions? I believe that a free study of these subjects would greatly enhance popular interest in the Holy Scriptures, and at the same time cultivate a sounder and more intelligent piety."

D. "I believe, on the contrary, that most of these new opinions are dangerous and errors, and for one I would do all in my power to prevent their spread among the churches. There is a sense, I grant you, in which it may be said that most of these critical views are no new discoveries; they are old, and have been time and again refuted by the ablest scholars and theologians among us. I therefore protest against their further propagation."

K. "Well then, Dolan, I submit that if these views have been truly refuted and are yet making so much stir in the world it ought to be a real service to lovers of truth and fair dealing to be made acquainted with the real issues and the arguments *pro* and *con*. Here is our intelligent friend, Gerald, who assures us that he is anxious to know as far as possible the whole truth and nothing but the truth about these questions of modern biblical study, but you insist that he shall not be fully and fairly informed. You would fain withhold from him and from hundreds information which they have a right to demand, and so you virtually assume the attitude of popery by saying to the laity of the churches that these matters of opinion have been settled for them by others."

D. "No, Karl, I protest against that putting of it. With me it is not a question of right, but rather one of expediency. You must be aware that there exists among many ministers and laymen in all the churches a widespread sensitiveness touching this matter, and not a few believe that such critical discussions tend to inculcate the spirit of skepticism and to hinder successful Christian life and activity. Why should anyone wish to keep up indefinitely this kind of agitation?"

K. "I incline to think, Dolan, that you yourself represent the class of good people you refer to; but I differ with you in your assumption that a question of right and of truth may be so easily reduced to one of expediency. I have a profound conviction that you cannot advance the cause of truth and

righteousness very far among thoughtful men by the position you seem to advocate. Anything which has the air of anxiety to suppress scientific investigation, or of withholding from the people a full knowledge of the facts and prevailing opinions in modern biblical research, will do far more to obstruct than to advance the kingdom of Christ in the world. It is, moreover, great presumption to say that these questions of criticism have been settled by any class of writers. Some of them are as unsettled now as they were in the third century of our era. I must also protest that these questions of authorship and date and literary character of books are not fundamental to the Christian religion. Is it possible for a rational mind to insist that the salvation of any soul or the prosperity of the Church of Christ depends on maintaining that all the writings attributed to the apostle John are genuine?"

G. "Permit me to ask you, Karl, whether you accept the views of Dr. McGiffert and believe them to be consistent with loyalty to the faith of the evangelical Churches."

K. "I have no hesitation in saying that I believe all these conclusions of critical research are at best human opinions, and that strictest loyalty to the obligations of Protestant Christendom requires every man of us, as far as he is able, to inform himself on the issues raised, weigh the evidences on both sides, and hold fast that which his best judgment approves. No harm can come to the Church by a devout search for the truth in such matters. Personally, I do not accept all the views advanced in this column, and I do not like the manner in which the author seems almost to go out of his way at times to suggest distrust of the general trustworthiness of the book of Acts. For example, touching Paul's preaching at Damascus he observes, 'There is no reason whatever to doubt the accuracy of Luke's account' (p. 162). Again, in reference to Barnabas bringing Paul to Antioch, he says, 'There is nothing intrinsically improbable in this narrative' (p. 168). Why should Dr. McGiffert feel called upon to make again and again remarks like these? If there is really nothing improbable in a narrative of simple fact, why suggest the contrary? In other instances, also, I think this writer needlessly disparages the accuracy of the Acts, and his argument to show that the

decree of Acts xv, 29, could never have been adopted and promulgated by the church of Jerusalem with Paul's knowledge and consent is to my mind far from convincing. I could easily mention many other examples of arguments and conclusions presented in this book which I regard as erroneous; but they are none of them of a prenicious nature, or such as are at all improper for examination and discussion among intelligent Christian people. I confess that I am the rather confirmed in my belief of the genuineness of John's gospel and first epistle by this writer's notable failure to produce any controlling evidence to the contrary, and by his own admission (p. 615) of one fact which seems to make direct Johannine authorship necessary. I consider his discussion of the fourth gospel an admirable specimen of scientific biblical criticism."

G. "It seems to me that I should lose much of my interest in the book of Acts, and also in the gospels, if persuaded that they were not written by the persons to whom they have been so long attributed. And, indeed, it troubles me to think that any of these books are believed by learned Christian scholars to contain untrustworthy statements. If such opinions prevail, how can we appeal with confidence to the New Testament as a rule of faith and practice?"

D. "I am glad, Gerard, to have you put that question. Must it not be evident to anyone that to discredit any of the sacred Scriptures by admitting that they contain errors is to destroy their value as divine authority? And if we say that the discourses of Jesus, as written in the fourth gospel, are not the very words of our Lord, but the composition of the writer, how can we consistently maintain that any of the gospels record his exact words?"

K. "One thing is certain, my friends, and that is that our New Testament writings are simply what they are, and not what you or I might wish they were, or think they ought to be. No scholar to-day doubts that every book of the New Testament was originally written in Greek. But Jesus spoke the Aramaic language of his countrymen, and only a few of his utterances, as, for example, '*Raca*,' '*Ephphatha*,' '*Talitha cumi*,' find a place in our gospels. All his reported sayings, therefore, have come down to us in a Greek translation of them.

Now, Dolan, do you not think it would have been far better for Jesus, instead of writing a few unknown characters in the sand, had he but taken the pains to write out all his sayings, and to engrave them, like the famous Behistun inscription of Darius the Persian, in imperishable rock with his own hand and in his native tongue, so that we might make our appeal to his original autograph? What a world of trouble such a wise provision would have saved us in these evil times!"

D. "I perceive that you are intending to be sarcastic. Why do you put such a question to me? We all know that there is no such record of the words of Jesus."

K. "I beg your pardon for having seemed sarcastic. My object is to lead you and Gerard to acknowledge that we have no such infallible record of the very words of Jesus as many seem to assume when they talk about our four gospels. I do not find that any of the New Testament writers put forth such claims of absolute perfection as many in modern times insist on making for them. The preface to Luke's gospel not only makes no claim of this sort, but on the contrary declares that, like any other truth-loving historian, he made it his careful aim to write out an accurate account of all things from the first. Even Paul, in writing to the Corinthians (1 Cor. i, 16), confesses his human forgetfulness in a matter of fact. I can see no good reason why all these New Testament writers should not be subjected to the same tests of analysis and criticism which we apply to other ancient writings. After all the special research and criticism of a century, and in spite of all such conclusions as Professor McGiffert and others of his way of thinking have reached, all the essentials of the Christian faith remain the same, and have no more able and earnest defenders than these scholarly critics."

D. "But does not Professor McGiffert deny that Jesus instituted the sacrament of the holy communion, as the Church has always understood it? If we may so manipulate the gospel records as to set aside divine authority for perpetuating that holy sacrament, how can you say that his conclusions leave all the essentials of our religion intact?"

K. "On that point I beg you to observe four things: (1) So far as it is an opinion of Dr. McGiffert, or of any other

writer, it is simply the view of an honest seeker after historical truth, to be accepted or rejected according to the evidence. (2) McGiffert is very cautious in his statements, and while affirming that 'there can be no doubt that Jesus ate the last supper with his disciples, as recorded in all three of the synoptic gospels, the fact must be recognized that it is not absolutely certain that he actually instituted such a supper and directed his disciples to eat and drink in remembrance of him.' I understand the writer to deny that we have absolute proof that Jesus intended to establish a new, separate, and special service, an obligatory sacrament of mystical significance, to be perpetuated through all time. 'That the disciples held a special service and partook of a special communion meal there is no sign. It is far more likely that whenever they ate together they ate the Lord's Supper. Not that it preceded or followed the ordinary meal, but that the whole meal was the Lord's Supper; they partook of no ordinary, secular, unholy meals' (pp. 68–70). I submit that all this opens a legitimate subject for historical research, and no one is called on to accept McGiffert's opinions unless fully persuaded in his own mind. (3) It is well for those who would make such a sacramental ceremony of fundamental importance to ask themselves why the language of our Lord in John xiii, 14, 15, does not just as explicity enjoin the ceremony of feet-washing as a perpetual ordinance? 'Ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you.' In this discussion we are not at liberty to forget that in many sections of the Church all through the Christian centuries feet-washing has been regarded as a sacrament and the so-called Church of God in the United States, numbering its thousands of most devout people, declares in its creed that there are 'three positive ordinances of perpetual standing in the Church, namely, baptism, feet-washing, and the Lord's Supper.' (4) After all, are we any of us prepared to affirm that the observance of the Lord's Supper is essential to salvation? The Society of Friends rejects both baptism and the eucharist as obligatory rites, and I understand that the members of the Salvation Army pay little or no attention to the sacraments. Let us

not forget that some of the most foolish disputes in Christian history have arisen over unwarrantable doctrines of transubstantiation and consubstantiation and baptismal regeneration. It may be a very wholesome exercise for the modern Church to look back and examine critically the historical foundation of its sacraments."

D. "Are we then to keep up a perpetual strife in the Church over questions like these? Is there nothing settled among us? I believe that the continual discussion of such matters tends to destroy the confidence of many people in the historic verities of our holy religion. The sacraments, the Christian Sabbath, the extent of the biblical canon, and the genuineness of the apostolic writings are so vitally related to the very foundation of the Church that to question is to scatter seeds of skepticism and infidelity."

K. "I beg your pardon, Dolan, for what may seem great boldness of speech, but to me it looks like intolerant presumption for a man like you to speak of questions of this kind as being settled. Is the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews settled because the English revisers insisted on retaining the words 'of Paul the Apostle' in the title? What are we Baptists going to say about your practice of sprinkling and of pedobaptism, persisted in without authority from the New Testament? Do you suppose that these matters are settled? Is it settled that the observance of the first day of the week as a Sabbath has any foundation in a commandment of our Lord? One might easily conclude from your attitude on these questions that you would like to suppress all scientific examination of the earliest documents of the apostolic age, unless one find in them the conclusions which you think proper. What every lover of the truth desires, and what he has a right to demand, is rational and convincing evidence of what is put forward as fundamental to the Christian faith. But I shall insist that the questions of biblical criticism raised in this volume of McGiffert are in nearly every case, if not in all, matters on which there is room for differences of opinion. Is Martin Luther to be denounced as a destructive rationalist because he believed and declared the Epistle of James unworthy of a place in the New Testament canon? Ancient

writings of the Church show us that in the third century the epistles of James, Jude, Second Peter, Second and Third John, and the Revelation were held in doubt. If all these books were dropped out of our New Testament I do not think that anything essential to the Christian faith would be lost. But I should be very sorry to lose them, and would much prefer to add to our present canon the recently discovered 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,' the 'First Epistle of Clement' of Rome, and the 'Shepherd of Hermas.' Some of these were read as Scripture in the early Church, and harmed nobody."

D. "I do not think it profitable to continue this conversation. I reaffirm now what I said at the beginning, that I regard the propagation of such views as both damaging and dangerous. And I do not see how Dr. McGiffert can be a loyal Presbyterian and maintain such opinions as he has published to the world."

K. "As I am not a Presbyterian I shall not presume to say anything on that last particular. I am content to leave our conversation to the unbiased reflection of our mutual friend, Gerard. I think he must admit that the subjects we have been reviewing are eminently appropriate for learned and scholarly investigation, and are not above the reach of common people. I am ready always and everywhere to give a reason for my own opinions. Furthermore, I am persuaded that a sounder faith and a more intelligent piety will be propagated in the world by leaving such questions of biblical research to be determined by the individual conscience. Every intelligent Christian, who has any feeling of responsibility on such a matter, ought to examine these questions as faithfully as he would search the Scriptures themselves; for what is it all but a searching of the Bible itself?"

G. "Truly, my friends, you have both of you set me thinking in a new way. I believe I must study these matters for myself, for I certainly cannot follow both of you. I am resolved, however, to try and show the good sense of not saying much about these issues until I am sure I know what I am talking about."

Milton S. Terry

Art. III.—JOHN RUSKIN.

The last of the great generation of English men of letters who brightened the mid-nineteenth century is gone. John Ruskin is dead. He outlived all his eminent contemporaries in literature—Carlyle, Arnold, Browning, Tennyson—he outlived himself. For it was Ruskin's hard fortune to see the decline of his own influence and to know that the writings of his later years, on which he himself laid most emphasis, were received by the public with indifference or sometimes with derision. He finished his work in discouragement more than ten years ago; his power began to decline, and he passed the last decade of life in pathetic silence and seclusion, slowly forgetting a world that seemed already to have forgotten him. But it is a matter of frequent observation that a great reputation gained during one generation is liable to temporary decline during the next. Public opinion and standards of taste slowly change; or men become used to the novel powers that surprised and charmed at first, and their attention is withdrawn to new aspirants for literary honors. After a time, however, these smaller men drop out of notice, while the true proportions of the great man's work grow more evident; a second and juster fame is accorded him, and he takes his place as a classic. So will it be, we are assured, with Mr. Ruskin. When the twentieth century shall have made up its verdict on the nineteenth, he will be accounted not as merely a brilliant erratic genius, but as one of the wisest teachers of his age and a master of English unsurpassed in any age.

The latter title to fame may be considered as already established. Even those who reject Ruskin's teachings admit the wonderful charm of his style. His only rival for the foremost place as master of English prose in this century is Thomas Carlyle. The manner of the two men was indeed very different. Carlyle wrote always with tremendous difficulty—language, as it were, torn out of him in an agony; and it seems still to bear the marks of those throes of composition. His speech is rugged, irregular, setting at naught all the rules of the smooth

rhetorician; but no more valorous, hard-hitting English was ever written, and some of his best descriptive passages in the *French Revolution* have a lurid, imaginative vividness almost preternatural—like what we see in dreams. Ruskin's writing departs much less widely in structure from conventional standards, and shows greater mastery of the mechanics of the rhetorical art; yet it is no less original than Carlyle's, and it is far more spontaneous and opulent. His style has all those inner qualities which make writing noteworthy—continuous and brilliant imagination, eager enthusiasm, and a rapidity of mental movement which gives to his most purely descriptive passages the constant play and glance of life. Then he has an undercurrent of humor, with a tinge of sarcasm, which in his later writings is often something more than tinge, but which always gives pungency and piquancy to his style. Both Carlyle and Ruskin have often been charged with a lack of temperance; but the charge has more force against Carlyle than against Ruskin, and is much exaggerated in both cases; for temperance and chasteness are not universally virtues of style. In the statement of facts, indeed, precision is always the first requisite; but in the expression of emotion there is, strictly speaking, no such thing as precision. Nor is there any reason why prose writing should keep a pedestrian pace on the low levels of narrative and exposition; the loftier attitudes of emotion are not above the proper path of prose. But such impassioned prose cannot be cool and measured in manner; and, while it will always avoid the former rhythm and cadence of verse, it will inevitably take on something of a charm of music and image which we commonly associate with poetry.

Now, of this impassioned prose Ruskin was the greatest master in our literature. No man since Jeremy Taylor has known how to write an English so rich in beautiful imagery or with such subtle and varied rhythmical effects. Yet his writing never suggests that artful elaboration which is inconsistent with earnestness. It is no such inflated and grandiose product as De Quincey's bastard prose-poetry. Ruskin's luxuriance is always spontaneous, and his most elaborate passages seem naturally conformed at every point to the flexure

of his thought or feeling. His style, though profuse, is never diffuse—which is a very different thing; for diffuseness usually proceeds from the fact that the writer has but few ideas and is trying to hammer them out as thin as possible, while profuseness comes from the abundance of illustrative or accessory ideas that come crowding thickly about a central thought and press for utterance. Nor did Ruskin's profusion ever betray him into carelessness. With all his wealth of diction, he would not throw away a word—he would not use a word at random. Indeed, the most remarkable thing about his language is the combination of exuberance with precision. He used to insist on this precision of phrase as one of the surest tests of literary eminence,* and his own choice of words was always made with the greatest nicety. Even in his most gorgeous passages, when he might seem to be throwing the reins upon the neck of his rhetoric, his phrase will be found to be exquisitely fitted to the fact or the feeling. If you try to say the same thing more simply you will find that your expression is not only tame and colorless but really less accurate.

His mastery is probably seen best in some of his descriptive passages. Description, whether in prose or verse, is usually a weariness. Language is ill suited to render the charm of color or form. But sometimes the union of imagination and emotion with the rarest art can set before us in words a scene as vividly as any painter can picture it, and with a thrilling spiritual sense of its meaning such as no painter can ever give. Ruskin's work is full of such passages. He had a minute and accurate observation, so that his description seems always exactly true. He had the keenest feeling for beauty everywhere, and especially for its analogies and suggestions—for those large spiritual truths of which beauty was to him the outward form and symbol; so that his description, even in its loftiest flights, seems never extravagant or labored, but only some expression of that emotion which, when sincere, cannot be exaggerated, since it is infinite in nature and therefore in its fullness ineffable. How shall a man exaggerate the peace of summer evenings or the solemnity of the star-sown midnight sky? But, beside all this, Ruskin had in almost unprece-

*See, for example, the *Sesame and Lilies.*

dented degree that sense of form which alone can render feeling articulate. He chose his words, as we have said, with the utmost nicety; but he knew that the meaning of words in combination is indefinitely varied and intensified by their movement and music. In fact, such prose as Ruskin's illustrates, quite as well as music can, all the effects of tone and rhythm and cadence. His page is sprinkled thick with alliteration, assonance, and all subtle adaptations of sound to sentiment; yet the whole is wrought so spontaneously and is so brought into subservience to the dominant emotion that all these detailed felicities of art are lost in the total impression. The limits of this paper will not permit extended quotation, but we may be allowed a single passage. It will show the delicacy of Ruskin's art all the better that it is not one of his purple patches, but is descriptive of the most unobtrusive forms of vegetable life—mosses and lichens. Yet what microscopic nicety of observation and felicity of epithet are found in the quotation, what fine sense of emotional values, and what a solemn grace of movement—especially in the last paragraph, where the soft, open vowels and the slow-paced liquids and sibilants keep step with the gentle pathos of the thought and then die gradually away in the lingering cadence of the closing lines:

> Meek creatures! the first mercy of the earth, veiling with hushed softness its dintless rocks; creatures full of pity, covering with strange and tender honor the scarred disgrace of ruin—laying quiet fingers on the trembling stones to teach them rest. No words that I know of will say what these mosses are. None are delicate enough, none perfect enough, none rich enough. How is one to tell of the rounded bosses of furred and beaming green—the starred divisions of rubied bloom, fine-filmed, as if the rock-spirits could spin porphyry as we do glass—the traceries of intricate silver, and fringes of amber, lustrous, arborescent, burnished through every fiber into fitful brightness and glossy traverses of silken change, yet all subdued and pensive, and framed for simplest, sweetest offices of grace. They will not be gathered, like the flowers, for chaplet or love-token; but of these the wild bird will make its nest, and the wearied child his pillow.
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> And, as the earth's first mercy, so they are its last gift to us. When all other service is vain, from plant and tree, the soft mosses and gray lichens take up their watch by the headstone. The woods, the blossoms, the gift-bearing grasses have done their part for a time, but these

do service forever. Trees for the builder's yard, flowers for the bride's chamber, corn for the granary, moss for the grave.

Yet as in one sense the humblest, in another they are the most honored of the earth-children. Unfading as motionless, the worm frets them not, and the autumn wastes not. Strong in loveliness, they neither blanch in heat nor pine in frost. To them, slow-fingered, constant-hearted, is intrusted the weaving of the dark, eternal tapestries of the hills; to them, slow-penciled, iris-dyed, the tender framing of this endless imagery. Sharing the stillness of the unimpassioned rock, they share also its endurance; and while the winds of departing spring scatter the white hawthorn blossoms like drifted snow, and summer dims on the parched meadow the drooping of its cowslip gold—far above, among the mountains, the silver lichen spots rest, starlike on the stone; and the gathering orange stain upon the edge of yonder western peek reflects the sunsets of a thousand years.*

Ruskin's manner changed, about 1860, with his change of subject. It grew more simple, direct, and, in his latest writings, colloquial. To the last, indeed, he retained his power of lavishly beautiful description, as passages in the *Præterita* will show; but he was used to speak disparagingly of that kind of writing, and seemed vexed that the public should any longer care for it while they refused to listen to weightier matters. When he revised the *Modern Painters*, in 1882, he ruthlessly cut away all the descriptive portions of the book, leaving only the fragment which contained his theory of beauty. But if in his later style there is less luxuriance of imagery, there is the same glow of feeling, the same charm of movement and music. The *Unto this Last* (1862), which marks the turning point in his career, is a treatise on economics, compact, closely reasoned, without a line of mere rhetoric, and yet filled with restrained energy and moving with a noble rhythm that recalls the best passages of Scripture. The *Crown of Wild Olives*, four years later—which Ruskin himself was inclined to call his best book—while it is chaste in manner, is one of the best specimens of genuine eloquence, that is, of impassioned appeal, in nineteenth century literature. It may be admitted that, at least in his later years, his zeal often became intemperate. The preacher got the better of the artist, and his style lost the balance and self-possession

* *Modern Painters*, vol. v, part vi, chap. x.

that mark work we call classic. To him the world verily seemed slipping into contented or scornful forgetfulness of the things that make for righteousness and peace; and he may well be forgiven if his voice sometimes rose into despairing remonstrance or denunciation. But it never rings hollow. Even in the most extravagant passages of the *Fors Clavigera* we never catch the note of rhetorical resonance. His opinions may be wrong; his fears may be groundless; his condemnation may be unjust—but he is as sincere as Jeremiah. Such intense moral earnestness, joined with such supreme command of the literary art, would suffice to keep alive the writing of any man, even if the ideas underneath it were fundamentally mistaken—witness the case of Shelley. But the leading ideas of Ruskin are not mistakes. In reality he has been one of the great teachers of the last generation.

Up to 1860 all of Ruskin's writing was concerned more or less directly with the two arts of painting and architecture. It is the period of the *Modern Painters* (1843–60), the *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), and the *Stones of Venice* (1851–60). These three books awakened general interest in the art of northern Italy, so that for half a century past the English-speaking traveler has been trying—often, it must be confessed, with grievous effort—to see things through Ruskin's spectacles. He did more than any other one man to secure sincere and intelligent admiration for several early Italian painters hardly known in England before—Giotto, Fra Angelico, Botticelli, Carpaccio. Yet the permanent value of these books as contributions to either the theory, the history, or the criticism of art may be doubtful. The first was undertaken in defense of Turner, the other two in defense of a theory; and all three were written in the temper of the advocate rather than in the temper of the student. Ruskin is never dispassionate. His youthful enthusiasm is captivating, but his opinions are sometimes of the high-priori sort, and depend for their proof mostly on a splendid confidence of statement. He is prone to large generalization on the basis of his own tastes, and sometimes mistakes a poetic fancy for an eternal truth. In particular, his disposition to measure art by moral standards—on which, to be sure, the value of all his work largely

depends—often warps his judgment; and even those of us most in sympathy with his principles must admit that his ethics and æsthetics now and then get oddly mixed. Moreover, his appreciation is limited; there are fields of art—Greek art, for example—for which he has very inadequate feeling. Painters and architects will tell you that he is romantic, capricious, antiquarian; that he gives them little aid in adapting a vital and progressive art to the needs of to-day.

All this is doubtless true. But Ruskin was not a painter or an architect; he was not, we think, primarily a critic of those arts. He was a man of letters. His writing, like all literature, was addressed not to the trained intellect of a class, but to the larger interests of men. It will be measured not by its technical accuracy, but by the volume of perennial truth and emotion it embodies. Now the great service of Ruskin to the world in these early volumes may be summed up in the statement that he taught us, more impressively than any other writer of the generation, the spiritual value of material things. There are three ways, and only three, in which we may regard any outward thing—say, a tree: first, the practical or material way, as so much timber, or fuel, or fruit; second, the intellectual or scientific way, as an organism with laws of structure and growth to be studied; third, the ethical or moral way, as an immediate cause of joy, a thing of beauty. The third, of course, is Ruskin's way. It was the work of a great part of his life to show that this point of view is as natural as either of the other two, and far more important. For all material uses are only means. What we call useful things seem merely to prolong life; but what is life itself for? Beauty, on the other hand, is an end in itself. The highest and most essential office, therefore, of all material things is to minister to our sense of beauty; that is what they are for. The end of the tree is not its seed, which can only reproduce its life or prolong ours, but its flower and its leaf. Yet it is not easy to persuade men of this. In truth, most of us cannot habitually think so. Beauty for us is a pleasing accident, the ornament or life, but no part of its object. The outer world, we say, is stuff for use, to be wrought into food, or raiment, or shelter. Perhaps the constant struggle for existence makes

it inevitable that this should be our mode of thought, and more inevitable as the struggle grows more desperate; so, at all events, it is. We purchase what we call convenience and utility with hardly a thought of their cost in beauty. Our traffic and manufactures may excoriate the landscape, blacken the skies, and pollute the streams; but if any man protest we brand him as a sentimentalist. Nor is it only the ruder mass of men that hold beauty cheap in any computation of the goods of life. Men of science engaged in study of the laws of nature, men who would scorn to estimate things by gross material values, have a superior disregard for what they deem mere æsthetics. Truth, they say—meaning by truth facts of relation and succession among phenomena—is higher than beauty; forgetting that one class of phenomena, as truly facts of observation as any other, has a unique power upon our spiritual nature which puts them above other facts. "Beauty is truth," as Keats said, and it is a higher than scientific truth. It was the work of Ruskin not only to protest with impassioned eloquence against the perversion of view which ranks the means above the ends of life, but so to open the eyes and touch the hearts of men that they might estimate at its true worth the beauty of the world.

This he did partly by the marvelous vividness and fidelity of his descriptions, of which we have already spoken. The *Modern Painters* was designed to prove the truth of Turner's painting, and to this end Ruskin was led to the careful study of all those natural forms which Turner had depicted. This determined his method. Nature, of course, is the frequent theme of modern poetry; but the poets do not describe. They rather suggest, without detail, some aspects of the object in which its emotional power resides. The characteristic of Ruskin's writing, on the other hand, is the union of intense emotions with minute descriptive detail. He feels like a poet; he observes like a naturalist. And this minute observation ranges over almost the whole vast spectacle of nature, from the tumult of storm about the white summits of the Alps to the veinings of a leaf in the wayside hedge. We do not know which to admire the more, the somber majesty of such a picture as that of the mountains piled above

Martigny,* or the delicate grace of the soldanella† in Swiss meadows breaking through the melting snows of May. No other book records so many visible phenomena of beauty or grandeur—the clouds and the sky; the sternness of mountain and the softness of valley; waters as they hurry or linger in rivers, and as they toss in the waves of the sea; the lone pine tree on the Alpine crag visited only by the winds and stars, and the gadding vine wreathed above the lowland peasant's door—all shown us with a beauty and a precision unfelt before.

But the deepest power of all Ruskin's writing on nature or on art proceeds from his feeling of the significance of beauty. Beauty, as Ruskin conceives it, is an appeal not to our sensuous or our intellectual, but to our moral, nature. An object is beautiful not because it gives us certain sense-impressions of form and color—which are presumably the same in the lower animals as in us—or because of pleasurable experiences personal or inherited which are bound up with it, but because it directly suggests ultimate moral qualities to be found in perfection only in divine nature. Beauty thus becomes a typical language, of which the symbols are sense-impressions, but the meaning is read off by our moral perceptions. The first half of the second volume of the *Modern Painters*—the only volume thought by Ruskin worthy of preservation—is devoted to an extended exposition of this theory. A summary statement of it, in the compass of a single sentence, may be cited from the *Stones of Venice:* "I have long believed that in whatever has been made by the Diety externally delightful to the human sense of beauty there is some type of God's nature or of God's laws." Certain combinations of form and color, for example, are beautiful because they suggest Infinity, or the divine incomprehensibility—as the line of a high horizon defined against a bare sky, "the level twilight behind purple hills, or the scarlet edge of dawn over the dark sea," or any effects of calm, luminous distance. Other material forms suggest repose, or the divine permanence; still others, symmetry, or the divine justice. Doubtless this theory would not be accepted by any modern psychologist as a scientific explanation of the genesis

* *Modern Painters*, part v, chap. xix. † *Ibid.*, part iii, chap. xii.

and nature of our sense of beauty. It explains the earlier notion by the later, the simpler by the more complex. Yet our feeling of an analogy between material and moral qualities, on which the theory is based, is matter of universal experience and imbedded in our common forms of speech. The emotions we feel in the presence of a beautiful object seem always largely moral, and in our endeavor to express such emotion by describing its cause we instinctively apply to the object not sensuous but moral epithets; we call it not red, or gray, or long, or rounded, but quiet, peaceful, gracious, gentle. And the more profound or intense that complex emotion which we call the sense of beauty, the more largely will it be found to be made up of moral elements.

But whatever the philosophic value of such a theory as this, it is evident that to a man like Ruskin, of deep religious sensibilities, prone to see in all the powers and aptitudes of our nature proof of a divine purpose, it would give a peculiar intensity and seriousness to the charm of the external world. To him beauty is not merely a delightful but a holy thing—a revelation of the nature of the Infinite, gracious as his love, awful as his law. This is the secret of the strange power of much of his writing. It is suffused with an emotion hardly found before in English prose. Beauty had, indeed, often reminded pious writers of the divine benevolence, but only because, like our appetites, it ministers to our physical pleasure; there is no thought of its apocalyptic character. But it is impossible to read passages like that quoted above without realizing that the beauty of the world means something more than the mere sensuous thrill which flatters eye or ear.

But it is not merely in Ruskin's passages of natural description that this conviction of the moral import of beauty is felt; it is this which gives such high ethical value to all his writing upon art. Art may be briefly defined as the attempt of the artist to reproduce in another the emotion he himself has felt in the presence of beauty. If he be painter or sculptor, he gives permanence to combinations of form and color that are transient, and so immortalizes the vision of his best moments. If he be man of letters, unable to reproduce in language sensible beauty save only in imperfect way

through memory and imagination, he will endeavor to reproduce the suggestions of the object and to interpret its spiritual meanings. But in either case the value of the product will, in the last analysis, be measured by the rank and intensity of the moral emotions it awakens. To this ethical standard Ruskin brings every work of art. He had no patience with the modern cry of "art for art's sake." He cared little—perhaps too little—for mere technique. He rails at the waste of time and skill over marvelous effects of light on a bunch of carrots or the inside of a brass kettle; he did not hesitate to arraign the most vaunted specimens of Italian art for their lack of truth in imagination and sincerity of feeling. Perhaps he carried this method of judgment too far; perhaps his opinions were sometimes fantastic and his verdicts perverse, though we, for one, confess to a delight in his strictures even of the "kicking gracefulnesses" of Raphael's "Transfiguration;" but it is certain that this constant insistence on ethical standards gives a value to his work that more narrowly critical writing could never have.

It is not easy, indeed, to overestimate the services of Ruskin to the development of English art. He began to write at a time when it is hardly too much to say that there was no English art. All the best English painters since his day—Hunt, Millais, Leighton, Rossetti, Burne Jones—though in no strict sense his disciples, and often differing with him violently, nevertheless have owed their inspiration largely to the romantic feeling, the fertility of suggestion, and the nobility of ideal in the writing of Ruskin. He did not found a school, but he did more than anyone else to start a movement. The history of English art for the last half century without mention of John Ruskin would be the play of "Hamlet" with Hamlet left out. Not less potent has been his influence in a general quickening of the popular artistic sense. When the first volume of *Modern Painters* appeared public taste in England was at its nadir. It was the era of ugliness in architecture, in household decorations, in all the surroundings of daily life. We are still a great way from that simplicity and elegance which a true ideal of beauty in the arts of household use demands, but we have made a great advance since 1850.

But the chief value of Ruskin's writing throughout this period of his life—as, indeed, through all his life—is ethical. Like all great literature, it is concerned with those broad truths of human nature on which the laws both of art and of morals are based. Thus, whatever his theme, before he is through with it he is sure to turn out a moralist. Nothing he has done is of more importance than this constant emphasis of the relation between conduct and artistic feeling, and the consequent *duty* of cultivating good taste. To many worthy, pious folk, especially in the evangelical section of society, with which Ruskin by birth and education was most closely connected, this must have seemed a fantastic and dangerous doctrine. Material beauty in any of its forms was most naturally deemed by them a snare, and overmuch admiration of it a proof of worldliness, a pampering of the carnal man. And it is common for all of us to speak slightingly of "matters of taste" as having nothing to do with moral choice. Nor is this tendency without some reason. In fact, any over-ardency of admiration for sensible loveliness unaccompanied by a feeling for its spiritual meanings does easily pass into sentimentalism or animalism; even in the finest natures, like that of Keats, for instance, it is justly thought an indication of some lack of moral symmetry; while as for taste the raptures of the æsthetes, for a little while in the seventies, over their ballades and blue china, provoked the ridicule of all sensible people, and were fitly laughed away in *Patience*. But these perversities or follies are not to be charged against the teaching of Ruskin. If taste be merely the caprice of personal choice between trivial things—a nice judgment in bric-a-brac—then, indeed, it is no matter to make a gospel of. But if, on the contrary, taste be a wise choice among the pleasures of life, the ability to perceive and enjoy what was divinely intended for our enjoyment, then the difference between good taste and bad taste goes to the very roots of our nature. And it does. Ruskin is quite right when he says, "The first, last, and closest trial question to any living creature is, 'What do you like?' Tell me what you like, and I'll tell you what you are." It is not so much what a man does that reveals his character—his doing may be determined by convention or con-

straint; nor yet what he believes—his belief may be mostly matter of accident or inheritance; it is what he enjoys. This decides his ideals and his desires. What, then, can be more clearly a duty than to refine and elevate the tastes of men, to teach them to love the beauty God made to be loved. And if that be, as Ruskin insists, always somehow the type and suggestion of infinite virtue, the love of it will surely cleanse our affections and lift our thoughts. Nay, it will always be true that any perfect vision of it is possible only to the pure in heart who see God:

> You may answer or think, "Is the liking for outside ornaments, for pictures, or statues, or furniture, or architecture, a moral quality?" Yes, most surely, if a rightly set liking. Taste for any picture or statue is not a moral quality, but taste for *good* ones is. . . . That is an entirely moral quality—it is the taste of the angels. And all delight in fine art, and all love of it, resolve themselves into simple love of that which deserves love. That deserving is the quality we call loveliness (we ought to have an opposite word, "hateliness," to be said of the things which deserve to be hated); and it is not an indifferent or optional thing whether we love this or that: but it is just the vital function of all our being. What we *like* determines what we are, and is the sign of what we are; and to teach taste is inevitably to form character.

It is this deep sense of ethical values that gives to all Ruskin's writing on art at once its breadth of interest and its impassioned earnestness. No other modern English preacher of righteousness is half so eloquent, or has half his power to arouse and inspire. He brings to the discussion of the most technical subjects a keen analysis of moral motive, a freshness of thought on the highest concerns of life, and an ardor of aspiration after whatsoever things are lovely and of good report, such as will be sought in vain in any other literary prose of the nineteenth century. And it was because he came to believe with ever-deepening conviction that the social and economic conditions of England was making it impossible any longer for the great majority of men to have any enjoyment in their work or any share in the real goods of life that, at the summit of his career, he turned away from art, gave up his fame and fortune, put by his plans, exchanged admiration for obloquy, and for the space of twenty years ceased not to exhort, to warn,

to denounce, till he deemed his mission hopeless and sank into the long, mute twilight that preceded his death.

Had Ruskin died early in 1860 he would be remembered to-day as the greatest master of English prose in the century, any extravagances quite forgotten in the breadth of his knowledge and the marvelous beauty of his style. But in that year* appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine* the *Unto this Last: Four Essays on the First Principles of Political Economy*, followed in the next decade by a series of books and addresses attacking in very outspoken fashion accepted economic theory and social practice based on it. Originality and boldness had been all very well in the criticism of art; to carry them into the field of practical business—that was a different matter. The man who had just succeeded in winning the applause of the British public now found himself decried as a visionary whose benevolent but mischievous fanaticism would undermine the foundations of society. His enthusiasm for what seemed sweeping social heresies was accounted proof of radical unsoundness of judgment; and some of his former admirers began to doubt the wisdom even of his earlier work. To this day he is thought of by many people as an æsthetic sentimentalist who wrote some very beautiful things, but who in his late years worked himself into a state of mind because steam-engines make a hideous noise and factories litter the landscape with their refuse or blacken the sky with their smoke.

But æsthetic sentimentalism does not inspire such self-forgetful effort as filled the last years of Ruskin's active life; nor can æsthetic sentimentalism teach such profound and impassioned truths of the relation of man to his fellows and his God as fill the pages of Ruskin's later books. And, whatever their lack of philosophic system, their occasional false emphasis or visionary suggestion, these books contain a message which the next age will have to heed—nay, which the present age is already beginning to heed. Whoever in 1950 looks over the literature of a century will see that *Unto this Last*, like Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, is one of the books that mark an era, for

*The two Manchester lectures on the "Political Economy of Art"—afterward reprinted under the title *A Joy Forever*—were first published in 1857; but they rather presage Ruskin's economic opinions than give a systematic statement of them.

it announced the rise of a new social spirit. It was not love of art that wrote these later books, it was love of man. It was, indeed, Ruskin's study of art that led directly to his attack upon social conditions. The result of all that study had been to teach him that a great art is possible only in a healthy society; that the condition of national taste depends largely on the condition of national morals—the *Stones of Venice* had been written expressly to prove these propositions. The converse, then, must be true. There must be something radically wrong in a state of society which made great art impossible, in an economic and social system that degraded the tastes of men at once by shutting them off from many of the best pleasures of life and by making them blind to the few that were left. And this, Ruskin thought, was just what was doing in the England of his day. His grief and indignation over some of the more remote and indirect results of the industrial system were not, as is so often charged, proofs of an idle sentimentalism. If beauty be of real moral value, it could not be a matter of merely sentimental regret that the fairest region in England was ravaged of beauty in sky and stream and earth till it became familiarly known as the "Black Country." Still less could it be matter of indifference that half the population of England were huddled in the squalor and ugliness of large towns. Or, again, consider Ruskin's much-derided protests against machinery. One of the chief joys of all men ought certainly to be in their work, the joy in what they make or do; art, in fact, is the result of that motive in its purest form—something made solely for the delight of making, without thought of future. If a man take no joy in his work, either in the process itself or in his foresight of the finished product, then his work, no matter how high his wage, is drudgery. Some such drudgery doubtless there must be; but the man all of whose work is of that sort is a slave. Now to such slavery, Ruskin asserted, the perfection of machinery and consequent minute subdivision of labor had reduced vast numbers of English workmen. The grievance is not so much that the workman is poorly paid, fed, or housed—although all that is too often true—it is that he cannot possibly find pleasure in his work. He makes nothing. He stands all day before a

machine almost as intelligent as himself, and repeats endlessly a few muscular movements, pulls a lever or pushes a bar. This is his "work." It is insane to say that any intelligent creature can take joy of it. The man inevitably comes to think of his pleasure, therefore, as something apart from his work, incompatible with work; and this, in four cases out of five, means moral death. We have become so familiar with this tendency in the last forty years, and with its influence on our operative class, that we regard it with unconcern, as part of the necessary hardship of life. But surely it is not sentimentality to feel the pity of it. Said an eminent American ecclesiastic in a public address the other day, after describing the work he saw a young man doing in a factory: "No wonder that at nighttime he drank, gambled, and fought. He had to; otherwise he would go mad. How many of us would stand this and not cry out? Not one of us but would become a striker, myself among the first!" We may not agree with Ruskin that we had best give up most of our machines and go back to hand labor; the remedy must probably lie in quite another direction. But we need not brand as fanaticism that passionate humanitarianism which demanded some change in an industry that made "goods" only by unmaking men, and increased what it called value only at cost of all the real wealth of life.

But Ruskin's real attack was directed not against any such incidental or secondary results of the modern industrial system, but against the set of economic principles which by common consent were supposed to govern most of the relations of men. Political economy is usually defined as the science of wealth; and by wealth is meant the sum of material things having exchangeable value. Political economy, then, is the science of the acquisition and exchange of material things—a purely commercial science. Moreover, it proceeds on certain assumptions, dignified by the name of "laws," which exclude moral considerations altogether. It assumes that, if I am buying, I shall buy as cheaply as I can, whether labor or product; that, if I am selling either labor or product, I shall sell as dearly as I can, the sole motive in either case, being gain in material things. That is, it is the scientific expression of some

forms of human selfishness. There may be no objection to such a science as this, if it keep within its own sphere and be recognized as merely what it is, a body of practical laws derived from assumed principles. If we do so and so, such and such things will follow; which leaves it quite an open question whether we ought to do so and so. If we assume that two and two make five, we can logically go on to conclude that four and four make ten; but the body of laws derived from our first assumption will hardly fit the computations of real life. Yet, in practice, it seems to be taken for granted that the most important dealings of men with each other in organized society—not only the acquisition of wealth, but, secondarily, the social conditions and opportunities largely determined by wealth—must all be governed by this science of political economy. The only motive supposed to be operative is the self-interest of the individual; but, whatever hardship or inequality may result, no obstacle must be placed in the way of that. Government exists chiefly to secure to every man his liberty and his rights; that is, to see that he is let alone and allowed to make the most of all his powers in the struggle for existence. We may not by superior strength strangle our neighbor, out of hate for him; but we may by superior shrewdness starve him, out of love for ourselves.

Now, against this hard economic theory Ruskin urged three principal objections. First, and foremost, he protested in the name of humanity and religion against this stolid enthronement of the God of Getting On as the only possible ruler over a large part of human action. No science can pretend to govern the actions of Christian men which is not a moral science; yet this so-called political economy takes it for granted that three fourths of human conduct is not to be measured by moral standards. It makes the law of supply and demand the sole *nexus* between social beings, and practically excludes ethical motives from economic discussion. The pretended laws of such a science, Ruskin asserts, are not laws at all, nor must they be accepted as rules of conduct. We shall buy in the cheapest market? That depends on what made the market cheap. We are at liberty to invest our capital where it will bring the highest rates of interest? No; not if such invest-

ment means to condemn many people to work on the lowest living wage, while we sit still and enjoy the fruit of their labor; to condemn them, moreover, to work that is cheerless, carried on in debasing conditions, and resulting in product often excessive and sometimes really valueless. We must be allowed free competition? Certainly not, if free competition means that we are permitted by our superior shrewdness to shut up every avenue of advance to our rivals and crush all weaker competitors. Cries Ruskin:

> You would be indignant if you saw a strong man walk into a theater or lecture room and, calmly choosing the best place, take his feeble neighbor by the shoulder and turn him out of it into the back seats or the street. You would be equally indignant if you saw a stout fellow thrust himself up to a table where some hungry children were being fed and reach his arm over their heads and take the bread from them. But you are not the least indignant if, when a man has stoutness of thought and swiftness of capacity, and instead of being long-armed only has the much greater gift of being long-headed—you think it perfectly just that he should use his intellect to take the bread out of the mouths of all the other men in the town who are in the same trade with him; or use his breadth of sweep and sight to gather some branch of the commerce of the country into one great cobweb of which he is himself to be the central spider, making every thread vibrate with the points of his claws, commanding every avenue with the facets of his eyes. You see no injustice in this.*

Not that Ruskin contemplated any such thing as economic equality among men. He never advocated any leveling scheme to prevent the accumulation of wealth in the hands of individuals. There must always be the rich and the poor. In so far as these inequalities result from differences in industry, economy—in a word, from moral differences—they are wholesome examples of moral law; they would exist in an ideal state. In so far as they result from differences of native ability or unavoidable circumstance, they are misfortunes to be minimized as far as possible; in an ideal state they would no longer exist. In so far as they result from any form of the tyranny of the strong over the weak, they are evidence of virtual robbery, and in the actual state ought not to be countenanced. But, under our present economic system,

* *A Joy Forever*, § 117.

Ruskin contends, differences of fortune are no index of character:

> In a community regulated only by laws of supply and demand, but protected from open violence, the persons who become rich are, generally speaking, industrious, resolute, proud, covetous, methodical, sensible, unimaginative, insensitive, and ignorant. The persons who remain poor are the entirely foolish, the entirely wise, the idle, the reckless, the humble, the thoughtful, the dull, the imaginative, the sensitive, the improvident, the irregularly and impulsively wicked, the clumsy knave, the open thief, and the entirely merciful, just, and godly person.*

Which statement affords food for reflection.

The entire lack of relation between wealth and moral character indicated in this passage may suggest the second of Ruskin's objections to the economic theory of his day. He would broaden the range of economic discussion by giving a more adequate definition to the word "wealth." Rightly considered, wealth is the sum of those things that maintain or enlarge life, intellectual and moral, as well as physical. But most economic discussion not only proceeds upon the assumption of selfish motive, but it leaves out altogether the more worthy objects of effort. Its values are exclusively material, and even of material things it considers only those that can be individually appropriated and exchanged. The real economic value of anything should be estimated by a comparison of its power to maintain life with its cost in life. It follows that we cannot safely discuss the laws of increase in material value apart from all other considerations. The statement that a man may gain the whole world and lose his own soul is not a piece of pietism, but a sober economic truth to be reckoned with—for that operation is not one of profit. A wider political economy must ask how best to attain, preserve, and distribute among men all the real goods of life. It will be, therefore, not merely a material but an ethical science; or, rather, it will be, as Ruskin has called it, "a system of conduct and legislation."

This last word suggests Ruskin's third criticism. Current economic theory was, he held, virtually antisocial. It left everything in the power of the individual. It not only allowed

* *Unto this Last*, chap. iv.

all sorts of injustice that spring from superior personal ability, but it encouraged a false spirit of liberty, and weakened the temper of obedience upon which the stability of society largely depends. Ruskin was no democrat. He was in favor of more government rather than less. The function of government, he held, is not limited to the protection of the individual from actual violence. If the State may call upon every man to defend the general wealth, even at the cost of life itself, then it must do all in its power to secure to every man his share in the general wealth. In a word, it is bound to do for the individual everything it possibly can do.

These three objections, variously enforced and illustrated throughout his later writings, are at the bottom of all Ruskin's arraignment of society. And will most men deny that all three are well taken? We may take offense at occasional extravagance in asserting them; we shall certainly dissent from some inferences he drew from them. No one thinks we must travel by stagecoach and sailing vessel again, or relinquish in any wise our command of material energy and product. Probably no one thinks all taking of interest on capital is immoral. These are vagaries of Ruskin's, prompted by an enthusiastic devotion to his principles, but not logically implied in them. Moreover, it may be admitted that the form in which his teaching is put is now and then overfanciful. We should hardly look to find economic truths in the behavior of crystals or in the songs of Shakespeare's "Tempest." A wide-ranging imagination, overpossessed by a fervid purpose, discovers analogies in most unlooked-for places. But the core of Ruskin's doctrine was sound. It was an earnest attempt to apply the morality of the New Testament to all the business of men. Christian men should not object to that. And if Ruskin's denunciation was sometimes severe, was it not needed? Is it not needed even now? What are the dangers that most threaten us in America to-day—the aggregation of wealth in a few hands; the corrupt influence of great moneyed interests upon legislation; the resistless tyranny of trusts and combinations; the degradation of great masses of our lowest laborers in factories and mines; the disrespect for law; the insolence of our youth; the general lack of the spirit of obedience in

our civilization—what are all these but precisely the threatening dangers pointed out by Ruskin almost half a century ago? And, on the other hand, we may thankfully note that in many ways Ruskin's teaching has already begun to bear fruit. The hard pedantry of the Manchester school of economics, supreme fifty years ago, is now generally discredited. We are finding that government has some other functions than to see that everybody is let alone. State and city have already begun to look after the health, moral and intellectual, as well as physical, of all their citizens; to remove enterprises affecting the common welfare out of the control of private greed; to interfere with the liberty of the individual, in behalf of the general interest, in a score of ways undreamed of half a century ago. Most of all, a new and broader social sentiment is surely pervading modern thought. It is no longer deemed possible that "an advantageous code of social action may be determined irrespective of the influence of social affections." That once-dreaded word "Socialism," though still used to cover a multitude of follies, is no longer a red rag to frighten all conservative folk. The favorite study of the scholar and the statesman is social science, and social science is only the attempt to throw a bridge between Christian ethics and political economy. The best thought of the world to-day is being put upon that problem. For all this we are largely to thank John Ruskin. He was no statesman, no philosopher; he was a man of letters. But the man of letters often prepares the way for the philosopher and statesman. Behind every great movement is a great volume of sentiment. In this case it was Ruskin who embodied this social sentiment in literature.

But Ruskin was not content to serve the cause of humanity merely by sitting in a library and writing books. He lived the life of a missionary—teaching, lecturing, exhorting; founding schools, museums, libraries; giving without stint of his money, his time, his treasures of art; writing multitudes of private letters of advice; giving counsel and encouragement to all who sought it; filled with sympathy for all hardship, with indignation for all injustice; burning with zeal to secure for everybody some share in the real goods of life. In the early fifties he was among the first of a little band of social

reformers to set on foot a scheme of education for English artisans and establish the Working Men's College, of which F. D. Maurice was president, and with which Charles Kingsley, Tom Hughes, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti were connected. Miss Octavia Hill always found him her most generous helper in her work of intelligent assistance for the honest poor of East London. He was left by his father a fortune of over £160,000—nearly a million dollars—but he spent the whole of it in charitable uses. Some of his social experiments seemed quixotic, others trivial; but he knew that, as Burke said, if you want to get anywhere you must start from where you are. If he set some Oxford students at making a road, it was probably because he thought it well those young fellows should find out what manual labor is like rather than because he supposed they would make a very good road. His much-derided Guild of St. George was simply a voluntary association of people willing to help him, whenever opportunity offered, in putting some of his notions into practice. The only pledge of the Guild is a simple but noble resolve which any Christian man or woman ought to be ready to make. But, however visionary some of Ruskin's plans, we can find inspiration in the example of the man who at the height of his fame turned away from his chosen studies, gave up riches and ambition to become a prophet and preacher of righteousness. He did not always prophesy soft things. He was sometimes indignant at us, almost fierce; but never in his own cause. There is not the first trace of a mean personal resentment in his writings or his life. It was much to be without a rival in the magic and mastery of language; it was more to have filled near twoscore volumes with beauty and wisdom, with never a line of vulgarity, or malice, or irreverence; but perhaps the historian will give him the highest encomium when he writes down John Ruskin as a friend of man.

C. T. Winchester

Art. IV.—SOME PAULINE DATA.

In Paul's conversion the full import of the new faith revealed itself; a world-wide revolution was effected in the germ.—*Professor George G. Findlay.*

Paul was a born thinker. His mind was of majestic breadth and force. It was restlessly busy, never able to leave any object with which it had to deal until it had pursued it back to its remotest causes and forward into all its consequences.—*James Stalker, D.D.*

In his trained mind Christian revelation took on a more precise form, becoming a body of doctrine so powerfully constructed that it lasts to-day as the basework of all our theology.—*The Abbé Constant Fouard.*

Should anyone ask me to name the man who, of all others, has been the greatest benefactor of our race, I should say, without hesitation, the apostle Paul. His name is the type of human activity the most end less, and, at the same time, the most useful that history has cared to preserve.—*Adolphe Monod.*

Great as St. Paul is, his is not the greatness of the founder of a religion. From first to last he gives only what he has received.—*Professor James Iverach.*

Biblical exploration and discovery for the past sixty years have ranged around four centers—critical, archæological, Christological, and Pauline. They have dealt with matters pertaining to the structure, history, and textual revision of the books of the Bible; with the topography and antiquities of oriental countries, so far as these have had any bearing upon the Scripture; with the person and ministry of Jesus of Nazareth; and with the character, writings, and mission of the apostle to the Gentiles. In the present paper we propose to outline the last-mentioned field, moved thereto by the conviction that next to the gospels the most inspiring region of study for the ministry is that which includes the life and epistles of St. Paul. He who vivifies that career by prolonged study—mastering the details of the great apostle's history, fitting into their proper niche in that history each one of his epistles, analyzing his character, and getting by degrees a clear vision of the scope and worth of his work—will thereby secure a range and an amount of vitalizing and edifying knowledge, of homiletic material and quickening motives, and an apprehension of God's plan for saving men not to be found outside of this field. It is with the hope of stirring up our younger min-

isters especially to study the life and work of St. Paul that we have undertaken the grateful task of preparing this paper, whose aim is, first, to indicate the leading English sources of information concerning him; secondly, to organize and outline the data in question so as to give a compact and comprehensive view of his career; and, thirdly, to suggest some of the qualities and elements of his record which make it pivotal and essential in its relation to our faith.

I. *Sources of the Pauline data.* The main, almost the only, original sources of information concerning St. Paul are the book of Acts and the Pauline epistles. Little is added to our stock of knowledge by the few personal references to him which are to be found in early patristic writings. With the exception of the first eight chapters the book of Acts is almost wholly occupied with the record made by him from his conversion down to his first imprisonment in Rome, at the end of which the narrative of St. Luke abruptly closes. We speak advisedly when we call this book the "narrative of St. Luke," for after a long struggle between hostile camps in regard to the authorship, authenticity, and validity of the third gospel and the book of Acts it has come to be practically acknowledged by critical scholars of nearly every school, except a few of the radically skeptical and destructive sort, that St. Luke, the companion of St. Paul, was the author of both these books. The intimate connection that exists between the history of St. Paul as recorded in Acts and the different phases of his life as alluded to in his epistles, was never fully discerned until Archdeacon Paley, in a work of singular keenness and logical force, *Horæ Paulinæ*, demonstrated it in 1790, exhibiting in an ingenious fashion a "series of undesigned coincidences" between the so-called writings of St. Paul and the Acts of the Apostles "sufficient to establish the genuineness of both."

Up to the second quarter of the now closing century but little thought had been given to the task of constructing a life of the apostle. The attention of Christendom was strenuously called to his career in 1835–50, by the work of the Tübingen school of German theologians, who, with the great scholar Ferdinand C. Baur at their head, assailed the historicity of Acts and the authenticity of most of the epistles of the New

Testament. In due time the theories of Baur were largely demolished, the most of the assailed books of the New Testament emerging out of the smoke of the conflict clearly discerned as planted upon immovable historic foundations. Up to the beginning of the second half of our century there was no book in the English language which creditably depicted the great apostle's career. An epoch in Bible study was marked in 1851–52, when two great works almost simultaneously issued from the press in England, each bearing the title *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul.* One of these was from the pen of Thomas Lewin, a learned member of the London bar; and the other was the joint product of the labors of two accomplished scholars of the Church of England, the Rev. William J. Conybeare, M.A., Principal of the Liverpool Collegiate Institute, and Rev. Dr. John S. Howson, who also served as principal of that institutute, and later as dean of Chester. These works were written with such care, they embodied such painstaking research and such affluence of scriptural knowledge, they covered the ground so completely and accurately that they promise to stand as imperishable monuments of the devotion, erudition, and literary skill of their authors and as indispensable handbooks for all students of the English Bible. Substantially the two works cover the same ground, each aiming to reproduce the environment of the apostle, the influences which wrought upon him, and the scenes amid which his life was passed from his birth in Tarsus to his martyrdom at Rome. Yet each one of these works has its own peculiar charms and advantages, Mr. Lewin paying special attention to the archæological, chronological, and topographical elements of the story, and Conybeare and Howson displaying, in addition to their classical knowledge and felicitous style, a spiritual insight and an apprehension of the theological and evangelistic work of the apostle which give distinctiveness to their narrative. The abundant maps and profuse illustrations in the later editions of Lewin's production give it in this respect exceptional value. By the help of these two works the student is enabled to reproduce to himself the entire history of Saul of Tarsus, and to see him "in his habit as he lived"—at school, on his journeys, in prison, on

trial, and amid all the tragic scenes of his ministry—with the vividness of the events of yesterday.

Farrar's *Life and Work of St. Paul*, a more recent book, has qualities which differentiate it from those we have mentioned — brilliant rhetoric, dramatic word-pictures, fervent declamation, and lavish descriptions of the surroundings of the apostle at each successive stage of his lifework. Although it traverses the same field, yet as a later publication, and as embodying a more ornate style of writing, it has commanded a wide popularity. Other lives of St. Paul remain to be glanced at—Renan's, brilliant, fanciful, rationalistic; Stalker's, a brief, compact, suggestive outline sketch, admirably filled in; Professor James Iverach's, clear-visioned, in touch with modern thought, and stanch with sterling Scotch orthodoxy; Lyman Abbott's, an attempt to apply the evolutionary theory in a sturdy, independent study of the Pauline life and letters; Orello Cone's *Paul: the Man, the Missionary, and the Teacher*, a work of philosophic grasp, in which the chief supernatural elements in the records are minified or ignored; and the *Student's Life of Paul*, by Professor George H. Gilbert, a biography, pure and simple, which reviews with discernment and ability the latest theories and discoveries bearing upon the apostle's career apart from his theological writings. This survey of the literature which English scholarship has put within our reach would, however, not be complete without the mention of a few monographs of value. Among these *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, by James Smith, published in London in 1848, stands supreme as covering one single phase in the apostle's life. Its exactness, its logical acumen, and its demonstration by surveys, soundings, charts, and other agencies of the navigator's art of the scrupulous truthfulness and absolute accuracy of St. Luke's narrative make it a volume to be desired by every student of the New Testament. Four small volumes, *The Heathen World and St. Paul*, each written by a master in his line, give apt descriptions of the apostle in his various locations and journeys. *The Apostle Paul*, by the eminent French scholar Professor A. Sabatier, of Paris, now available in an English translation, is a sketch of the development of the apostle's doctrine, an

application of modern scientific methods to the subject in hand, done with skill and penetration, its analysis of the epistles being of particular value. Akin to this work is one by the late Professor A. B. Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, reflecting the strength and scholarship of that great teacher. *The Spiritual Development of St. Paul*, by Dr. George Matheson, of Edinburgh, is a book of strange quickening power, a portraiture, drawn from the epistles, of the growth of the apostle in grace and knowledge, from the opening of his epistolary work to its close. Professor W. M. Ramsay's works, *The Church in the Roman Empire Before A. D.* 170, and *St. Paul, the Traveler and the Roman Citizen*, are of notable value, as coming from an authority in all matters pertaining to Asia Minor, who, beginning his studies in the book of Acts, twenty years ago, a skeptic, has been brought by his literary, historical, and topographical researches to be one of the ablest and stanchest defenders of that book, miracles included. His discoveries in regard to the boundary of the Galatian region in Paul's time, while not fully accepted, have made an epochal impression on current New Testament discussions. McGiffert's recent book on *The Apostolic Age* is rich in learning, but vitiated by its suggested doubts with regard to the historic validity of Acts, as well as in some other points. *A Harmony of the Life of St. Paul*, by Rev. Frank J. Goodwin, is a well-prepared and worthy handbook, with maps, notes, and appendix, in which the story of the apostle's life in Acts is paralleled throughout by citations from the epistles. In this survey of current Pauline literature we have not attempted to suggest the material which is ready for use in the German language, nor have we deemed it worth while to indicate that the standard works on the history of the Christian Church in apostolic times give special attention to the labors of St. Paul. Looking at this array we have before us a field of Christian literature which is peculiar to our own age. No former century possessed the facilities and information requisite for a thorough apprehension of the character and achievements of the apostle to the Gentiles. Rich as some other ages were in the contributions which they made to biblical science, it was reserved for the nineteenth century

alone to furnish biographies of our Lord and lives of his chief apostle of such scope and value as to make them distinctive features of the times.

It would seem a little like "preaching" should we urge upon those who read this article the duty of mastering this affluent field of learning, and yet perhaps a word of exhortation may be allowed. These works are the noblest that have been written in our tongue in their peculiar province; they lead one into subsidiary regions of knowledge which are full of delight; they are fraught with revelations of various phases of human life, in the city and in the wilderness, on shipboard, in the palace and the prison; they present for study a great variety of characters; and they picture the life of a man unsurpassed in intellect, a great hero, missionary, and saint, in all the vicissitudes of his career. Throughout this whole range of biographical exploration the river of salvation runs, as we journey, watering the desert and making it blossom as the rose; and amid all the adventures and toils of the apostle, as in fancy we accompany him, we are made acquainted more and more with the tenderness, the mercy, the guiding hand, the mighty power, and the prescient wisdom of Him whom Paul proclaimed as "the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature: . . . the head of the body, the Church: . . . the beginning, the firstborn from the dead." How, then, can we exaggerate the privileges and benefits which come to the diligent student who sets out to make himself possessor of the treasures which abound in this field at which we have taken a cursory glance, this field of current Pauline literature?

II. *These data concerning Paul organized.* One of the first things to be done by every student of St. Paul's life is to get a bird's-eye view of it, an outline glimpse which includes its chief features, leaving the details to be filled in with later studies. Our immediate aim is to afford such a view.

(1) Birth and training. One name of the apostle, "Saul of Tarsus," indicates his birthplace. The city of Tarsus, in Cilicia in Asia Minor, midway from the mountains to the sea, was the seat of a great Grecian university, one of the three in that ancient world; it was a center of commerce and trade to which soldiers, sailors, caravans, students, and tourists

in great numbers came. Here Saul was born—somewhere about the opening of the Christian era—and here his boyhood was passed. While he was trained in the rigor of Pharisaic routine and brought up in his home a strict Jew, yet a boy such as he was could hardly have lived in such a city and breathed its atmosphere without being broadened and quickened by it. Without unduly emphasizing his Grecian environment in the plastic season of boyhood, we may profitably reflect upon the significant fact that the man who became God's greatest missionary was born, not in Jerusalem, a citizen of Palestine, but in a heathen city of culture and a citizen of the world-wide Roman empire. In his teens he was sent to Jerusalem to be trained. Here he used to advantage the opportunities which opened up before him as a student under one of the greatest of Jewish teachers, Gamaliel. After some years, when his course was ended, he seems to have returned to Tarsus to serve his apprenticeship in the trade by which he afterward at times made his living, that of a tent-maker. Returning then to Jerusalem, we find him, as indicated in Acts vii, 58–60, when he is first mentioned in the Scripture record, consenting to the murder of Stephen and numbered with the crowd that stoned the protomartyr to death. He was at this time perhaps thirty-two or thirty-three years of age, the strongest young leader of his people, a keen dialectician, an ardent partisan, a stringent Pharisee, a hater of Christians, the arch-persecutor of the disciples of our Lord. He believed Jesus of Nazareth to have been justly crucified—a heretic and fanatic who deserved to die on a cross. The embodiment of these views and convictions, he set out to rid the world of the very name of Jesus. With this glimpse into his attitude and spirit we are prepared to understand the significance and radical character of

(2) Saul's conversion, A. D. 36.* This event, which took place near Damascus, about seven years after Christ's ascension, arrested Saul's persecuting course, changed his views of Christ and his attitude to the disciples, and transformed him

* The dates of the leading events in St. Paul's history are those which the best authorities have fixed as probable. It will be understood that they are tentative and not definite. Yet in most cases they do not vary much, we judge, from the exact dates.

into an apostle. It was wrought chiefly by a vision of the glorified Saviour, which gave him immediate assurance that Jesus of Nazareth, whom he had been persecuting, was the King of kings and Lord of lords. Desperate and ingenious efforts have been made to explain away the supernatural elements of this incident, but no reasonable explanation has been offered which eliminates or ignores the actual appearance of the risen Christ to the chosen apostle. Among the ludicrous substitutes for the simple narrative of the book of Acts which "naturalistic" critics have given may be mentioned the attempts to account for Paul's experience and changed attitude by a thunderstorm, a bolt of lightning, an epileptic fit, an ecstatic delusion, a sunstroke, an attack of ophthalmia in connection with feverish prostration, "cerebral commotion," a nervous hallucination—all of which may well be reckoned as belonging among "the curiosities of literature." There is nothing surer in history than that Saul of Tarsus believed he actually saw the Lord Jesus, and that from the time when he first believed that this vision appeared to him the enemy and persecutor was changed to be a friend, a disciple, and an apostle of Jesus. If any so-called critic chooses to believe that Saul was mistaken, and that Jesus did not appear to him, we must leave such a one in the fog with which he has surrounded himself, a victim of his own credulity.

(3) Retirement into Arabia, 36–38 A. D. Saul, after his conversion, began at once to testify in behalf of his Lord. Opposition was kindled against him, and he was forced to flee from the city to save his life. He went into "Arabia"—perhaps down into the Sinaitic peninsula, where Moses and Elijah had both received a part of their training and some of their revelations. Here for possibly a part of two years he stayed in retirement, recasting his views of the Old Testament, studying the Scriptures in the light which the glory of the risen Christ cast upon them, and accumulating material for his ministry. His renewed efforts to preach in Damascus, and later in Jerusalem, were hindered by murderous outbursts against him, and he was impelled to return to Tarsus, where some years were spent in study, and also in evangelistic labors—38–43 A. D.—of which we have no clear record.

(4) Antioch and first missionary tour, 43–49 A. D. From Tarsus he was summoned by Barnabas to Antioch in northern Syria, to help in a great revival movement that had broken out among the Gentiles. After some years spent in this field he started on his first missionary tour, through the island of Cyprus and the central provinces of Asia Minor, as far as Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, whence he returned with Barnabas, his fellow missionary, to Antioch. This tour lasted fully two years and abounded in perils, hardships, and toils; its fruits were converts and churches throughout the entire region visited (Acts xii, xiii, xiv).

(5) The Church Council at Jerusalem. Paul, Barnabas, and Titus were sent at this time—perhaps 51 A. D.—to Jerusalem to attend the first Church council, summoned to consider the relations of the Gentile converts to the Jewish law (Acts xv, 1–35; Gal. ii, 1–14).

(6) Second missionary journey, A. D. 51–54 (Acts xv, 36, to xviii, 23). This great tour, in which Paul, Silas, and, for a part of the time, Luke engaged, occupied fully three years. Its starting point was Antioch, and it touched various provinces of Asia Minor before the missionaries crossed into Europe and preached at Philippi, and journeying thence by successive stages through Thessalonica and other points came to Athens and Corinth, where Paul spent a year and a half.

From this point, about 53 A. D., he wrote the two earliest of his epistles, commonly called First and Second Thessalonians. After a flying visit to Ephesus and Jerusalem, Paul returned to Antioch, probably in the summer of 54 A. D. It will be noted that he had been a missionary for about fourteen years before he wrote a single epistle, little reckoning of the extraordinary work which he was yet to do in this regard.

(7) The third missionary journey. This, with the others, began at Antioch. It lasted probably from 55 to 59 A. D., and covered parts of interior Asia Minor, including the Galatian country and Ephesus, where a stay of three years was made, and whence he wrote, in 58 A. D., his First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians. His journey, continued, took him once more through Macedonia and Greece. From Corinth, 58–59 A. D., he wrote his epistles to the Galatians and the Romans. A circuitous tour from Corinth to Philippi, down the western coast of Asia Minor to Miletus, and thence to Tyre and Cæsarea brought him at last to Jerusalem, laden with the offerings of his Gentile churches for the starving poor of Judea, eager to tell the story of the victories won by the Gospel in various lands, and anxious to defend himself against the charges which had preceded him, that he was an enemy of the law, a troubler of the Church, who was teaching the Jews "to forsake Moses." Toils, dangers, hardships, and sorrows had abounded during these years of travel; greater ones were yet to be faced.

(8) Assailed at Jerusalem and imprisoned at Cæsarea, A. D. 59–61. The apostle, the victim of misapprehension, suspicion, and jealousy on the part of the Judaizing Christians, and of hatred on the part of the unconverted Jews, was mobbed, rescued by Roman soldiers, and taken by night to Cæsarea, where he remained two years in prison, charged with being a desecrator of the temple, a "pestilent fellow," and "a mover of sedition"—in brief, a disturber of the peace, dangerous alike to Jew and Roman. He was heard by Felix, Festus, and King Agrippa without final decision, and at last, having appealed to Cæsar, and being allowed a hearing at Rome, he made the adventurous journey next to be noted.

(9) Voyage to Rome and first imprisonment there. The

story of this journey in the last two chapters of Acts cannot well be summarized. The incidents occurred in the autumn and winter of 60 and the spring of 61 A. D. At Rome he was incarcerated two years, 61–63 A. D.; during this time he wrote some of his most useful letters, as the epistles to the Colossians, Philemon, the Ephesians, and the Philippians. This last epistle, evoked from Paul in prison by the gifts which the Philippians had sent to him in captivity by the hands of their messenger, Epaphroditus, is Paul's love letter to a body of converts who had cared for him again and again in his travels, exposures, and suffering. The apostle, according to the judgment of the best authorities, was set free after this first captivity, his appeal having been decided in his favor.

(10) Second imprisonment and martyrdom, 63–67 A. D. Between the first and second captivities in Rome an interval of three or four years extends. During this period Paul seems to have made several journeys into Asia Minor, Macedonia, and even possibly into Spain. He also wrote at different times his pastoral epistles, First Timothy and Titus. He was, during the persecution of the Christians incited by Nero, arrested and brought to Rome, a prisoner for the second time, charged with being an instigator of violence and a leader of the seditious sect of Christians. In his dungeon he wrote his Second Epistle to Timothy, A. D. 67, in which he gives his parting counsels and expresses his joyful anticipation of the crown of life. He had two hearings, being acquitted on the first charge and condemned on the second. According to the universally accepted tradition he was executed by decapitation on the Ostian road, a little distance from what is now known as the Gate of St. Paul. With his martyrdom, in A. D. 67, his earthly career came to an end.

We have now traversed in brief this wonderful career, which in a ministry of about thirty-one years, from the conversion of the apostle in 36 A. D. to his martyrdom in 67 A. D., delivered Christianity from its Jewish swaddling bands, opened the Gospel doors to the Gentiles, planted churches throughout the civilized world, and began the work of overthrowing Grecian and Roman idolatry and of Christianizing

the Roman empire. It remains to indicate some pivotal elements in the history thus outlined.

III. *The fundamental character of these Pauline data.* The chief facts concerning St. Paul, taken in connection with his varied work, have a vital and essential quality in their relation to the whole Christian scheme which cannot easily be overstressed, and which needs to be thoroughly understood by all teachers and students of the Bible. In the space that yet remains to us we can do no more than intimate the chief reasons why an extraordinary emphasis continues rightfully to be placed upon the apostle's character, ministry, and testimony.

(1) The work of St. Paul as a theologian, an interpreter of the Gospel scheme, is so well understood that we need hardly dwell upon it here. It has occupied at various times in the history of the Church such a dominant place as to overshadow even the utterances of Christ himself, and as to call forth the declaration that Saul of Tarsus, and not Jesus of Nazareth, was the founder of Christianity. It has extorted the cry from some in our own time, "Back to Christ!" We have no room to dwell upon this phase of the case; our purpose is sufficed when we point out the stupendous influence Paul has exerted upon the brain, the heart, and the pulpit of Christendom by his writings, which make up one fourth of the entire New Testament, and especially by his doctrines of the atonement and of justification by faith, which are fundamental in the whole Christian scheme as Protestantism apprehends and teaches it. It is more important for the purpose we have in mind to instance another vital phase of his ministry, its evidential value.

(2) St. Paul is a matchless witness to the integrity of the Gospel history. It has come to be seen in the current century, as it was never seen before, that the two chief supports of the New Testament story are the resurrection of our Lord and the conversion of Saul of Tarsus. These two events, with only a span of seven or eight years between them, are vitally related to each other. Against them, as the two pivotal supernatural buttresses of the New Testament, rationalistic scholars of the skeptical sort have aimed their heaviest artillery without avail. For seventy years the naturalistic scholarship of the world has

made its most heroic efforts to eviscerate these twin events of their supernatural elements. The utmost ingenuity of some of the strongest brains of England and Germany has wrought time and again to devise some new way to explain the faith of the disciples and of the early Church in the literal and absolute truthfulness of the history which tells of the appearances of the risen Lord on the third day and afterward to his apostles, and which records the account of the change wrought in an hour upon the persecuting Saul of Damascus—to explain that faith without allowing the truth of the story. It is a fact undeniable that all these attempts have proved ludicrous—we might, perhaps, better say tragic—failures. Each naturalistic theory has had its day and then has "ceased to be," while the world has come more and more unquestionably to accept the clear, significant fact that Saul, when "breathing out threatenings and slaughter" against the Church, and engaged in a murderous course of persecution, was transformed almost instantly into a lover of Christ, a preacher of the "faith which he once destroyed," and then into the greatest missionary, theologian, and saint the world ever saw—all by a sight of the risen Christ! This fact continues to pivot the whole New Testament record. It is no wonder that it has been the chief object of attack by those who would overthrow the Gospel; and it is no wonder that these assailants, in view of the straits to which they have been driven to account for the history upon a naturalistic basis, have been made the laughing-stock even of one another.

The evidential value of St. Paul's life, in relation to the Gospel records, however, is not confined to his conversion. After giving to the records the most patient examination and extraordinary scrutiny, such as no other historic documents ever underwent, the whole scholarly world, skeptical, rationalistic, conservative, has determined that the chief epistles which bear the name of Paul—First and Second Thessalonians, Romans, First and Second Corinthians, Philippians—were without any doubt written by him, at or about the time generally assigned to them. The work of the higher criticism in this respect has been constructive, and has finally placed these letters of Paul beyond the reach of doubt or question.

All possible direct, indirect, and subsidiary scrutiny has been brought to bear upon them; secular history has been ransacked; the topography of Asia Minor has been explored; the ruins of ancient cities have been exhumed; old manuscripts have been discovered and studied; the text of the letters themselves has been revised; objections, ancient, mediæval, and modern, have been weighed—and at last the scholars of the world, with the exception of a few critics, insignificant in number and influence, have rendered their deliberate and final verdict: "These epistles were written by Paul, and we have them to-day substantially as they left his hand inside of twenty or thirty years after the crucifixion of Jesus." The significance of this verdict ought to be apparent to every student of the word. These epistles confirm and supplement the Gospel history, and were in the possession of the churches before the earliest of the four evangels was written, thus demonstrating that throughout the whole Christian world, from Jerusalem to Rome, in city and hamlet, the chief facts concerning the life, the miracles, the teachings, the death, burial, and resurrection of our Lord—facts which are rehearsed, commented upon, and interpreted by Paul in his epistles—were the staple of apostolic preaching, were believed without any question by the Church, and were not apparently denied by any human being. When we go back one step further to the earlier years of Paul's preaching, which began with his conversion and which preceded his epistles, we come to a time only ten or a dozen years from the death of our Lord, when these facts are seen to be the universally accepted and unquestionably believed data on which the faith, the experience, and the very lives of the early Christians were built. There is no space left for myths, for legendary accretions, for visionary hypotheses, for credulous superstitions; these require long years in which to grow. Paul's conversion and testimony take us back almost to the point where we can touch hands with Thomas and cry out in the presence of our risen Redeemer, "My Lord and my God!"

(3) Finally, it is worth while to bear in mind the work of St. Paul as the founder of the whole missionary movement. He was the only one of the early Church, except the martyr Stephen, who seems to have fully apprehended the truth that the

Gospel was intended for and adapted to the needs of the world. He alone, in his age, had a brain and soul large enough to take in the sins and sorrows of the human race. He announced himself "a debtor to all men;" he took as his mission field the Gentile world. His example and influence in this regard are more thoroughly alive to-day than they ever were before. He is now, as he has ever been, the exemplar of missionary heroism, enterprise, and faith. To him and to his example all missionaries have turned, in order to inflame their ardor, kindle their passion for soul-saving, quicken their faith, and make effective their methods. He has been the pattern and guide of every forlorn-hope standard-bearer who has lighted the beacon fires of the Gospel upon heathen shores. Early explorers of our own continental wilderness and prairie; heroic messengers who in other days carried the Gospel to our pagan ancestors; and the courageous souls who from time to time have made the nineteenth century the matchless missionary era of the ages—Carey, and Livingstone, and Butler, and their coworkers—have all caught their inspiration from the life, the character, and the labors of this apostolic leader. And, in due time, when the far-away tribes who are yet in savagery, and the great pagan nations that are still unchristianized, and the waste places of the earth that yet lie in darkness and the shadow of death, shall be renewed and evangelized, and when the glad cry shall go forth through interstellar spaces to the farthest recesses of the universe, "The kingdom of the world is become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ"—then it will be seen, as we cannot now fully discern it, that one supreme man, the greatest of his kind, was the hero-pioneer, who, at the bidding of the King, first laid the plans and organized the forces, and exemplified the triumphs of the finally victorious campaign—St. Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles!

Jesse Bowman Young

Art. V.—ABERRANT MORALIZERS.

It is a frequent experience to find good men on opposite sides of what are called moral questions. And it is an experience scarcely less frequent to find these men impugning each other's motives and regarding each other as morally all astray. It is a great and rarely vouchsafed mercy in such cases if the vials of wrath are not opened and floods of denunciation and recrimination poured forth. Such exhibitions are not edifying. Both parties take a high moral stand, and commonly succeed in bringing morality itself into reproach. For the sake both of mental clearness and of moral progress it seems well to point out the root of the difficulty in an ignorance of moral science and in certain easy oversights thence arising.

Any concrete science involves both facts and principles. We must study facts in the light of principles, and we must also study principles in the light of facts. Without the former we are lost in a rabble of details; without the latter we make no connection with reality and simply hang in the air. Oversight of this fact is one root of the evil in question. Pure ethics is a formal and abstract science. It deals with the essential principles of the moral nature and the fundamental ideas and implications of a moral system. The ideas of duty, obligation, responsibility, merit, and demerit are analyzed, and their conditions and implications are pointed out. This work is useful, for only thus do we get an outline of essential moral relations and principles. Without it we remain in the amorphous morality of instinct and convention. But this is only half of the work. We abstract from the concrete to get these general points of view; but we must forthwith return to the concrete again to discover the form which our abstractions take on in actuality. Abstract moral ideas may be used in formulating life, but life cannot be deduced from the ideas. The order of human life cannot be deduced from abstract benevolence or justice. The relations of the family, of citizenship, of friendship admit of no deduction, and indeed they can hardly be classified in any scheme of

abstract morality without losing some of their warmth and life-likeness. The modification of the abstract and the concrete is mutual. If we need the abstract for the formulation and criticism of the concrete, we equally need the concrete to give life and substance to the abstract.

But the professional moralizer is often ignorant of this, and confines himself to moral abstractions without duly considering the concrete conditions of existence. He is devoted to altruism, benevolence, justice, equality, in complete forgetfulness of the general forms of human life which condition all principles and the general facts of life of which all theory must take account. It is well-known that these abstractions can be handled in a way that is destructive of the human order. It is easy to find in the family or the nation an immoral limitation of the pure altruism demanded by universal love. Plato is an excellent illustration. He was so devoted to the true, the beautiful, and the good that he proposed as an ideal for society the abolition of the family and the organization of sexual promiscuity and systematic infanticide. It is also easy to conclude that the world-order as a whole is unjust; for what could be more unjust than the ineradicable inequalities of men and a world of heredity and social solidarity? The worshiper of abstractions is rarely full of practical wisdom. The professional philanthropist is almost a byword; for, though a lover of man, he is seldom a lover of men. A distinguished lover of mankind of the generation just past is said to have replied to an application for help for a needy person, "I have no interest in individuals, I am concerned solely for the race." Utopian dreams and practical inhumanity are a frequent result of an exclusive devotion to moral abstractions, and we can escape them only as we require the theorist to consider the concrete condition as well as the abstract theory.

Again, this abstract procedure often leads to an illusive simplicity and finality which cover up the complexity of the real facts. Many things are clear and simple in the abstract which are complex and difficult in the concrete. Thus, the "moral agent" of pure ethics is easily constructed and construed. But the moral agent of real life—in whom power, faculty, and insight have to be slowly developed and in whom

they never are ideally developed—furnishes a more difficult problem. Again, the conditions and measure of responsibility are easily determined in an abstract and formal way. But when we attempt to apply our results to any concrete case we find ourselves at a loss; so much so, that the popular judgment of a criminal's guilt is commonly divided between an untenable rigorism, on the one hand, and an immoral sentimentalism, on the other. Similar difficulty is found when we attempt to apply the sharp distinctions of abstract ethics to living, developing men. The good and the bad, the righteous and the wicked, the saved and the unsaved, are simple categories in theory, but how difficult in application! Thus we see that many ideas which are abstractly clear may be very uncertain in the concrete. And abstract moralizers are of all persons the most unfit to deal with such questions. They seek to solve them by a formula, whereas only the man who has lived, who has had experience of life's temptations and of what is in man, can be trusted to judge in these matters.

These moralizers equally tend to err concerning the code. Here the error roots in the failure to notice that a working moral system has two poles, the subjective pole of intentions and principles and the objective pole of tendencies and consequences. Both must be regarded in practice. Our act must not only express good will, but it must also be adjusted to the world of law and reality. Hence, supposing moral principles agreed upon, the work would be only half done. It would remain to specify them into a code which should best express and realize them. The moral disposition in itself does not contain a code, but only the principle which should underlie all codes. The legislator must, of course, be impartially devoted to the common weal, but what laws will best secure that weal remains an open question. The physician must have good intentions, but they alone do not reveal the proper treatment of the patient. And, in general, we should all have good intentions; but if we have nothing more we are not likely to be useful. The concrete code is not a matter of intentions merely, but also of knowledge and experience. The particular thing to do must be learned by the impartial application of our intellect to the problem, in the light of the present fact, and

of known or anticipated tendencies and consequences. And here the abstract moralizer is apt to go astray in many ways. First, it is plain that in most concrete cases the question is not one of moral principles, but of their wise practical application; and it is equally plain that no flourishes about principles throw any light on the practical problem. If a physician were puzzling as to the best prescription for a case of disease, it would not help him much to have some moralist bawl into his ear, "Cure your patient." That is what he is trying to do, but how to do it is the mystery.

Now we have a large body of moralizers upon whom this distinction between principles and their application has never dawned. Accordingly, they indulge in much irrelevant talk about principles. But, with persons who concern themselves at all about these matters, it is seldom a question of principles, but of application. The problems of life do not take on the forms of academic theory, and living men seldom appear as abstract "moral agents." The condition, as well as the theory, has to be regarded, and the theory must be worked with reference to the condition. Oversight of this general fact is the source at once of a vast deal of unedifying clamor, and also of the practical weakness of so many moral reform movements. The principles admit of easy and obvious rhetorical treatment at a very slight expense of thought, and hence are very popular with professional talkers and ignorant conscientiousness. In this way differences of judgment are magnified into moral differences. Mutual abuse begins. Each party in a way delivers the other unto Satan, and soon every possibility of a rational treatment of the subject disappears in rhetorical clamor which sometimes passes into genuine malignity. And the sorry performance is commonly called loyalty to principle.

This particular form of error is especially prominent in the case of moral and social reformers and of political philosophers. Pulpit reformers and professional philanthropists, according to their own accounts, are furnished with a full line of good intentions; but here, unfortunately, their outfit too often ends. The result is they rarely get beyond barren generalities, and are apt to fall into pharisaic assumption concerning them-

selves. The political philosophers, also, often seem to be incapable of distinguishing between an abstract ideal theory and an actual condition. Accordingly, they flourish their glittering generalities in melancholy ignorance of the fact that these things are not in question at all. The real question is what is to be done in the actual situation; and this can never be decided by abstract theory alone, but only by study of the existing condition, with such light as theory and experience may afford us. We have had the most striking illustration of this folly in the discussions growing out of our late war with Spain. There has been a vast amount of irrelevant flourishing of principles, as if they were really in question, or as if they alone could settle the matter. The practical question itself was complex enough; and it was, and is, not easy to find the way. One can well understand, therefore, that good and wise men might hold opposite views of the policy to be pursued, seeing that probably only the future can give a final decision. But, instead of confining themselves to a survey of the facts and their indications, they took a high moral stand, fell foul of one another's motives, and bandied epithets and insults in a most scandalous fashion. It would be hard to find in the history of debate a more shameful and shameless exhibition. The ignorance, the conceit, the hysteria, the pharisaism which were manifested could be adequately dealt with only by a supreme artist in *opéra bouffe*. There was comparatively little attempt to get at the facts of the case, or at any positive solution of the concrete problem. Effort was directed mainly to slander and abuse, which were supposed to be the highest morality. Most of the remaining discussion was simply unwisdom resulting from failure to distinguish between abstract moral principles and their concrete application, and from failure to remember that in the complications of life good men may agree on the principles and differ in applying them. Had these points been borne in mind there would still have remained difficult problems enough, but they might have been discussed in rational ways, and we should have been saved many mortifying exhibitions.

Another fact of our moral life tends to confirm the abstract moralizer in the error just dealt with. The strictly absolute

elements in morals relate to motive and disposition. All else is relative to the situation. But, in a world of fixed laws and relations, the elementary forms of right conduct have a corresponding fixity; and, for routine life with its established round, they remain a constant quantity. In this field, given the moral disposition, there will be no question as to what ought to be done. Any departure from moral convention here would indicate a selfish partiality, or inward dishonesty or debasement, which could not be too severely condemned. Hence the categorical imperative of Kant. It will hear nothing of consequences as a test of a code; that is expediency. The code itself is absolute, without variableness or shadow of turning—"Thou shalt, or thou shalt not." This rigorism is important as emphasizing the absoluteness of the moral spirit and as forbidding all selfish tampering with moral law. But, as applied to the code, it has significance only for routine life where experience has sufficiently indicated what should be done, and where the selfish will is the great obstacle to righteousness. It does not apply where consequences and tendencies have not yet sufficiently declared themselves, and where we have to proceed by the method of trial and rejection until the indications of experience have become less uncertain. Meanwhile, good men will differ because the data for a final decision are not yet reached. On the frontiers of our developing life there is much territory of this kind which is not yet surveyed and mapped out. Old codes have to be rectified. New problems demand new solutions. The growth of knowledge and the development of life are forever compelling readjustment. In this field there can be no categorical imperative beyond the general will to do right.

Here again the moralizer is apt to become a nuisance. He commonly has no due conception of the derived and relative nature of codes in general, and elevates them into finalities which may not be departed from without sin. Any change, however necessary or rational, is resisted as immoral. The result is to consecrate convention and make morality a foe to progress and an ally of prejudice and superstition. Or, the moralizer, having no idea of the complexities of concrete social, political, international problems, seeks to solve them by

a few simple intuitions, which serve well enough for the quiet life of routine, which are excellent in pedagogics and indispensable for the Sunday school, but which need to be informed with large knowledge and wisdom in order to give any valuable solution of the larger problems of civilization. In this larger field the professional moralizer, who brings with him an ethics adjusted only to neighborhood problems, is apt to be weak and a source of weakness. He develops a strong tendency to hysteria and nightmares, and, after screaming himself hoarse, settles down into doing nothing for fear of doing wrong. He cannot advise, but he can always object. His practical wisdom is small enough, but his store of cavil is boundless. Such morality is a sufficient foundation for writing letters to the papers; but otherwise it is not adapted to terrestrial conditions. The source of the trouble, so far as it is not pathological, is this: We are furnished with only a routine morality, and in the changes of events we find ourselves confronted with problems for which routine has made no provision. And this seems to have been the case with the moralizers of recent political discussion, so far as they were well-meaning. They were seeking to solve world-problems with an ethics which had not got beyond the necessary routine of neighborhood and Sunday school morals.

The consecration of convention is especially the form of error peculiar to the moralist of the ecclesiastical type. This person has seldom been a friend to moral progress. The conventional code has been consecrated both morally and religiously; and thus the reformer has had to make his way, not only against the obstacles of conservatism in general, but also against ecclesiastical opprobrium. For the religious moralizer commonly succeeds, to his own complete satisfaction, in identifying his own views with the will of God. Thus he secures a supreme sanction for himself and his opinions; and by the logic of the case all who differ from him must appear as allied with the enemy of mankind. This is not so serious a matter nowadays as formerly. It was once a menace; now, it is only a nuisance. The nuisance is mainly felt in rationalizing the codes of religious bodies which have made artificial issues at one time or another concerning modes of worship, civic duties,

clothing, social customs, and amusements. The appropriate changes are resisted from the fancy that the things in question represent final utterances of the moral nature, whereas they are often mere whims of a narrow and belated intelligence, or echoes of a long-forgotten strife. But, though not so serious a matter now as formerly, it is still serious enough. One very undesirable result is that often progress can be made only by revolt and rebellion. Unreason and nonsense having got themselves sanctified, discredit is thrown upon reason and good sense, and morals and religion are made to appear as hostile to truth and progress. This is most unfortunate for both sides. A fictitious hostility is engendered, and, whichever side wins, the victory is damaging to both. A great many changes for the better might be made in the codes and conventions of most religious bodies; but because of this failure to distinguish the moral and spiritual principle, which is the only sacred thing, from its conventional expression, which is essentially relative and variable, the needed changes will not be made soberly and rationally, but with friction and violence and mutual misunderstanding. It must needs be that offenses come, at least until we understand this matter better.

From what has been said of the relation of moral principles to application, it is plain that there is a vast field of the indeterminate in ethics. At the center of our moral system there is a large body of fixed commands and prohibitions, but around this fixed center there is a great area of the indefinite which admits of no sure formulation. For social interaction there are the sure principles of justice, impartiality, good will; and as dispositions these are absolute and changeless duties. But they admit of no exact and final specification in a world like ours. No clear dividing line can be drawn between selfishness and proper self-regard. No formula can decide to what extent I must put myself at another's service or subordinate my interest to his. And as for justice, society cannot expect to do more in this line than to do the least injustice possible. All laws bear hardly on some one. All social forms have their disadvantages. To secure the laws and forms which will do least injustice and best secure the common weal is not a problem for abstract theorizing, but for practice; and

it admits only of an approximate and progressive solution in any case.

And what is true of social interaction is equally true of the inner life of the spirit. Here we have a moral ideal sufficiently far ahead of our actual to serve as a present guide; but we are quite unable exhaustively to specify the contents of this ideal, or to say what is concretely compatible or incompatible with it. This is the field for moral originality, for personal initiative, for individual decision. Here the person must be largely a law unto himself; and it is a great mistake to attempt to reduce this matter to hard and fast rules. How much is arbitrary in the conventional determinations of religious ethics in this matter is patent and palpable. Thus, what does spirituality involve? What is permissible and what unpermissible on Sunday? How often shall we pray or attend church? What amusements are allowable? What is the correct division of time between labor and rest, work and recreation? What is the correct proportion of charity to income? To a person not completely ossified in convention it is plain upon inspection that these questions admit of no theoretical answer. Any rule we may lay down must necessarily be relative to the circumstances and stage of development, and should be seen in its relative and temporary character. Otherwise we make a convention, which is more or less arbitrary, into a fixed canon of morality, and thus prepare the way for friction and revolt, sooner or later. Or, if the revolt does not come, a still worse result emerges. Different persons or bodies with different sets of conventions learn to look upon one another as worldly and sinful, and an indefinite amount of pharisaic conceit and slander results. It is preeminently in the religious realm that this precaution is needed. There is a vast mass of interdenominational pharisaism which has its root just here. For the education of the ignorant, young or old, rules often have to be laid down with a measure of pedagogic strictness which they do not possess in their own right. But there should be in teachers and parents an insight into the true nature and function of the rule which will make it possible to outgrow it without revolt, by entering into the principle which underlies it.

Moral strenuousness is no doubt desirable, but when it is not joined with practical wisdom and a certain indefinable good sense it is far from being an unmixed blessing. One can hardly think of the things which have been done or insisted upon, and the issues which have been made, and all in the name of moral rigor and vigor, without a sense of shame for the aberrations of blind conscientiousness. In many cases persons of narrow views or limited interests, with little knowledge of human life, with scanty social opportunities, and with sympathies restricted to their own sort or set or sect, have saddled religious bodies with grotesque and pitiable artificialities of code and custom which they have regarded as nothing less than the will of God, whereas they are little more than a reflection of the narrow sympathy and narrow outlook or general illiteracy of their inventors. Probably many things of this kind could be traced to the original poverty of their authors. For, if anyone should set out to draw up a spiritual code, it is pretty sure that he would especially rage against those forms of iniquity which were socially and financially beyond him. He could deal with such cases in their true nature and thus vindicate his own moral rigor and vigor at the smallest possible cost of either thought or money. And, apart from such cases, it is clear that religious moralizers in general need to get a deeper insight into the true nature of codes and their relation to life. They need to see that one can differ from them without being a rebel against God—an insight peculiarly difficult for the unenlightened ecclesiastic. They also need to transcend the negative and ascetic ethics of religious tradition; and, in order to this, they especially need to recognize the absolute legitimacy of the life that now is and of all its normal factors and interests.

The same insight into the theoretically indeterminate nature of many ethical problems is needed by all moralizers in social and political philosophy. Here the principles are simple, but their application is especially difficult, involving, as it does, an insight into the complex forces of humanity, into economic conditions, into the necessities of civilization, into past and prospective history. Consider, for instance, the relation of civilized nations to inferior tribes and peoples. It is per-

fectly clear that no generalities about the rights of man or the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God can finally decide the problems of this field. The generalities do indeed represent an ideal which should rule our disposition and toward which we should so far as possible approximate; but they as little decide the concrete question as to what is to be done in a particular case as they decide the age of political majority, or the conditions of citizenship, or the laws of naturalization. Given the principles, there remain a great many practical questions to which the principles give no answer, and which can be answered only by careful study of the actual conditions in the light not merely of principles but also of experience and knowledge. Suppose there were a civilized people which had begun to feel some responsibility for the order of the world and the progress of the race, and which was forced by its circumstances into relations with uncivilized tribes; what should it do? To this question there is no general theoretical answer. Each case must be dealt with by itself. Of course, good will would always be a duty as a disposition, but the form it would take on would depend on circumstances. The civilized nation might owe something to its own subjects, something to the peace of the world, something to humanity itself; and conceivably these obligations might be discharged only by extending its authority over the uncivilized people and subjecting them to tutelage in civilization both for their own good and for that of the world. Peoples may become nuisances which demand abatement. Or they may be incorrigible obstructions to human progress. Or they may even defile and debase themselves to a degree which hints at extermination as the only remedy. They may be so weak in will, so fixed in laziness, so ossified in thought, so defiled in imagination, so besotted in animalism that the survival of the fittest irrevocably and inexorably devotes them to destruction. It can hardly be said that any civilized people has devoted much thought to the moral aspects of this question. Greed, ambition, racial antipathies, and the native pugnacity of human beings have been mainly in play; but the net result has been to help on the survival of the fittest. And it is clear that no reflection on moral principles could

settle these questions. The rights of man will not help us, for we are not dealing with abstract man, but with concrete men. Appeals to humanity are not final; for we must consider moral humanity and not merely that humanity which is mainly a weakness of nerves and character. Not merely the human sensibility now existing, but the moral well-being of the future, must be taken into account. It is also clear that it is a fallacy to endow governments with a moral personality and attribute to them relations which are possible only among moral persons. No one is entitled to a voice in such discussions who cannot distinguish between setting aside a worthless government and plundering the citizens themselves. All governments are purely instrumental, and derive their rights solely from the service they render their subjects; and whenever government fails to render service, or becomes the oppressor of the people, it loses all reason for existence and may rightly be overthrown by any power able to render the service demanded by the true interests of the people.

Of course, any nation which attempts a work of this kind must be fully persuaded of the righteousness of its motives and of its ability to accomplish the intended good; and both of these admit of being questioned. The mixture of motives in all human movements always makes it possible for any ill-natured or unpleasant person to disparage any undertaking whatever, and to treat pleasantly or skeptically or scornfully all professions of good intentions. Likewise the uncertainty of all things human makes it easy to doubt concerning the outcome of any proposed plan, especially if one is interested in some other scheme. The problem is so complicated and its factors are so far beyond us that we are seldom shut up to any single theoretical solution. We must try and see, and only the result can certainly determine the wisdom of our decision. In this indeterminateness of theory the practical problem is solved in sections by the interaction of the multitudinous passions and interests, rational and subrational, moral and submoral, which make up human life; and these again will be modified by the unforeseen emergencies and new conditions which may confront us. The result will be the outcome of a vital historic movement, rather than the conclusion of a closet

speculation. And, while all this is going on, the abstract moralist will stand around, clamoring querulously in the supposed interest of morality, yet seldom without an eye to bringing himself into notice, but really contributing little or nothing to the practical solution of the problem.

And the dangers of this misplaced moralizing are greatest of all for the moralizers themselves. The bystanders may become immune, but the operators run very serious risks. Without good sense the moralizer is apt to lose himself in silliness or fanaticism and also in an odious pharisaism. Often all sense of reality and proportion is lost. Some minor matter, of small importance in any case, bulks so large as to hide everything else. And scruples beget scruples and grow upon scruples, until at last all morality disappears in mechanical pettiness. Then it becomes a question of supreme importance whether to make the sign of the cross with two fingers or three, whether to use fermented or unfermented wine in the Lord's Supper, whether to have the common cup or individual cups in the communion service. One gritty old saint recently denounced the communion cup as the cup of devils when fermented wine is used. A distinguished ecclesiastic has ventured to say that if Jesus made fermented wine it is well that he died as soon as he did. A prominent temperance organization not long ago made an issue on root beer, discovering in it, with the peculiar insight of hysteria, a very special lair and lurking place of the adversary. When the philanthropist comes to write about war he seems to lose all power of discrimination, and sometimes sinks in manly feeling below the veriest ruffian of the slums. The horrors of war are undoubtedly great, but the horrors of peace may be greater. War would be very much out of place in heaven; but it is sometimes very much in order on earth. These are specimens of the blindness which can result from ignorant moralizing.

But this is only dementalization; the next step that follows is demoralization. Jesuitry and pharisaism seldom fail to appear. The upholders of this sort of thing are by no means always scrupulous. Who cannot recall illustrations of the truth of Coleridge's remark: "I have seen gross intolerance

shown in support of toleration; sectarian antipathy most obtrusively displayed in the promotion of an undistinguishing comprehension of sects; and acts of cruelty (I had almost said of treachery) committed in furtherance of an object vitally important to the cause of humanity; and all this by men too of naturally kind dispositions and exemplary conduct?"* There is real danger in our best feelings as well as in our worst; and both alike need to be controlled by good sense. One takes his reputation in his hand who consents to argue with a moralizer of this type. For his opinion is not merely his opinion, it is the moral law itself and the very will of God. Thus anyone who differs with him is inevitably put in the wrong and held up as an enemy of righteousness. In this way narrowness and conceit and obstinacy and malignity consecrate themselves, while shooting up into monstrous proportions and making their most odious manifestations. For narrowness is never so narrow, conceit never so conceited, obstinacy never so obstinate, and malignity never so malignant as when they take on the pharisaic form.

Thus the reformers alienate the thoughtful and finally get by the ears themselves. For there is a sad tendency, with reformers of this kind, not to divide and conquer, but to divide and fail. Having identified his own opinion with eternal wisdom and righteousness, the professional reformer soon feels called upon to administer faithful wounds to his fellow-reformers; and then they fall asunder, each one proclaiming that no reform is genuine unless his name is blown in the bottle, and each one regarding himself—as an admiring disciple said of Garrison—as the only righteous in a world perverse. Many important reforms have ended in this way in our own time. Professional nonpartisanship has unwittingly passed into the narrowest and blindest partisanship. Useful critics have degenerated into unscrupulous and tiresome scolds. Thus the reform becomes threadbare, and the people tire of both the reform and the reformer, especially when they begin to surmise that the final cause of the reform may be to pay the salary of the reformer. Or the reform organ seeks to do business with the sole outfit of virtuous

* *Biographia Literaria*, chapter x.

intentions and becomes the subject of a smile. Reformers are one great obstacle to reform.

The conclusion of the whole matter is that we need good sense in morality as well as in everything else. Apart from the inherent difficulties of the subject, when the problem is complex or lies in new fields, there are opposite extremes of unwisdom to be avoided. On the one hand is the timeserver for whom justice is never opportune, who would like reform but at some other time; and on the other hand is the doctrinaire dealer in abstractions, with no sense of reality or knowledge of human life and human nature, who, being ridiculous himself, contrives to make morality and religion also ridiculous. For this state of affairs there is no single panacea, but it will help somewhat if we learn to see things as they are. We must distinguish between abstract principles and their concrete application. We must distinguish also between the conventional code and the unchangeable moral law. We must also recognize how much there is in concrete ethics that is theoretically indeterminate, and we must get a deeper sense of the divinity of life itself and of all its normal interests. We must of course hold up the ideal, but we must also take care to do the best we can when the ideally best is impossible. We must also remember that until the perfect is come we shall have to work with imperfect instruments, imperfect motives, and imperfect men, and not allow a moral æstheticism to degenerate into a weakness of mind and character resulting in practical impotence. There is something wrong with the ideal when it thus defeats itself. Finally, we must overcome the tendency to hysteria and nightmares and pharisaism which is so marked a weakness in the professional moralizer, and so serious an infliction when it leads to making speeches and writing letters to the papers.

Borden P. Bowne.

Art. VI.—THE RELIGION OF KIPLING.

Concerning the religious teaching and the moral worth of the idealists and romanticists in literature much has been written of late. Concerning the religious influence of the realists there remains not a little to be said, and some of it may well find a text in the writings of that prince of realists, Rudyard Kipling. Here is a realist who is essentially a poet; his very prose is epic, and for realism to have produced a poet of power means that it has found itself and has a message worth singing. If there is any religious worth in the actual, this man who worships "the God of things as they are" has found it. So far, the other side only has been heard. Kipling, the realist, whose coarseness demands the exclusion of his works from the Sunday school libraries, has been expounded by moralists of the molluscan order. Kipling, the prophet of the base, the groveler in the gutters of life, has been exploited with rose-tinted adjectives by Le Gallienne, and with sulphurous invectives by Robert Buchanan, while the most of us have been content to admire the sheer power of the man's work, without troubling ourselves as to its message. Yet it goes without saying that no poet reaches so vast an audience or moves so deeply the feeling of his time as does Kipling, unless he sings of more than the phenomenal. The inductive method in science does more than observe facts, and so realism, which is the unconscious application of the scientific method in literature, does more than describe life as it is. If the poets of nature and of the inner chambers of thought and fancy have sung great religious truths, why not the singer of the song of soldier and schoolboy, of steam and sea, of war and wilderness? The best that realism has done in this field is embodied in the work of Kipling. Such a gospel of the actual as has been compiled stands there in bold outline.

To discover the religion of realism one begins, of course, with the external. It is predominantly ethical, it expresses itself absolutely—where a great deal of so-called religion, of a more pretentious variety, fails to find any expression whatsoever—in terms of conduct and character. It is the re-

ligion of life that is, the actual life of strong men, at once the best and the worst that human nature as a whole has evolved. While it may be true, as has been recently urged, that Kipling has added no great personalities to the Valhalla of literature, yet he has created a type that is distinctly his. All his men, white or black, soldier or civilian, exemplify certain principles of character, conform to a certain code of conduct. Their standards are few and simple. Their Westminster Confession might be written somewhat in this fashion:

We believe—

1. In doing our work and doing it well.
2. That a man should have no fear.
3. That God's world is good.
4. That a man should think for himself, and say what he thinks.
5. That a man should do what he says and be what he appears.

(Signed)	Mulvaney,	Dick Heldar,	Sergeant What's 'Is Name,
	Learoyd,	Torpenhow,	'Er Majesty's Jollies,
	Ortheris,	Gunga Din,	Stalky,
	Tarvin,	McAndrews,	.007,
	Mowgli,	Harvey Cheyne,	The Maltese Cat.

Of all these signers, not one would formulate this statement of his faith; it is more than likely that no one of them would even acknowledge it. Yet they worked it out in actual life and preached it with the eloquence of mighty deeds. It is the religion of the strenuous life that is vibrant in the work of Kipling. His men do something, and they do it well. They build bridges, rule provinces, command ships, fight the battles of the empire; somewhere and somehow, they do a man's work in God's world. And ever he urges them on:

> Go to your work and be strong, halting not in your ways,
> Balking the end half-won, for an instant dole of praise;
> Stand to your work and be wise—certain of sword and pen,
> Who are neither children nor gods, but men in a world of men.

They are brave in the doing of their work, these men of Kipling. Winning or losing, they will play the game to the end with never a murmur, even though one of the goals be death. Strong, silent men they are, who like the friend of his youth, "Do their work and hold their peace and have no fear to die." A great company of brave hearts he has pictured for us, every one of them with the immortal light of quenchless

courage in his eye. Whether it be the marines who, on the deck of the sinking ship, could "stand and be still to the Birkenhead drill," or the crew of the Bolivar who saw "the stars run round and round dancing at their death;" whether it be wild dervishes of the desert who "broke the British square," or little Ghurkas from the Indian hills who love the music of the clicking knives; whether it be Highlander or Irishman, Sikh or Afghan, the men whom Kipling loves to draw are men who have it for their creed to know not fear, his heroes are men who in the presence of their God can "rise to their feet as he passes by, gentlemen unafraid."

The men who live the life that Kipling paints and sings, with its toil and its underlying courage, have a natural, healthy optimism, the optimism of realism, which finds God's world to be very good and crowns the actual with such glory of the ideal as lawfully belongs to it. They have no time to worry about the way the world is going. They do their own work in their own way, certain that the doing of it is a good thing, content that the end will justify itself. Their spirit finds apt expression in the words of one of his not too respectable rovers:

> God bless this world! Whatever she 'ath done—
> Excep' when awful long—I've found it good.
> So write before I die, 'E liked it all!

Absolute sincerity is the essential requirement of the code of life to which these men conform. Humbugs and hypocrites cannot know it. Against traditional cant and pious formalism the apostle of realism directs the climax of his scorn and sarcasm. Those eminently respectable persons who never by any chance think for themselves, who borrow their virtues from society at large and even procure their sins at second hand from a moral pawnshop, are bluntly told that for them there is no place in either heaven or hell, because they have no souls of their own. Jesus preferred the publican to the Pharisee, and Kipling's men, sinners or not, are at least genuine. Their faults are of the flesh, not of the intellect. The brutal frankness of their sincerity is at times a rude shock to one incased in traditional formulas, but it is not their intention to be irreverent. Far from it. They have seen so much

of humanity, "raw, brown, naked humanity," that they have come down to simpler theories than most folks hold. With forms and husks and shams they have unending war, but in their hearts there is a deep reverence for the eternal facts. They work in such a spirit that their toil becomes a prayer, their life a religion, and in the supreme moment, when they look death between the eyes, with the lust of fighting in their hearts and in their eyes the light of battle, the prayer finds words: "Lord, grant us strength to die." One other great principle is included in the life of Kipling's heroes, the principle of service. They work for their fellows and at the last "they praise their God, for that they served his world." In the hour of need, they yield up the last great treasure, life itself, spent for their fellow-men, as though it were but the measure of the law. This supreme self-sacrifice that molds common clay into heroic form Kipling has shown us with master strokes in many colors, not as an ideal, but as an actual happening which he but chronicles. Its frequency is the saving grace of our poor human nature, the thing that makes us nearest God. This code of conduct, which Kipling has found in the lives of men of different races and stations, with its toil and its courage, its sincerity and reverence, its honesty and sacrifice, represents the religion of the men who are doing the hard work of the world. It is the ethical development of human nature in the rough, outside the hothouses of religious culture. Wherever there are strong men, it obtains. It is Hebrew; Elijah preached it. It is Roman; the Stoics taught it. It is Puritan; Cromwell lived it. It is of the Scotch Covenanters; Carlyle would delight in its vigor and power. It is Afghan; well known to the men who love the justice that is "straight as running noose and swift as plunging knife." It is the gospel of realism, most vigorously preached. At its highest point it becomes idealistic, for the best of that which is points the path for that which may be.

It has been well said that, while "by the grace of Lord Salisbury, Alfred Austin is poet laureate of England, by the grace of God, Rudyard Kipling is poet laureate of the British empire," and his influence upon national ideals is worthy of consideration. Let it be granted that he stands for militarism,

that he sings ever of force, that his national religion is of the strong right arm and the reeking tube, but let it also be remembered that he considers always the man behind the gun and the nation behind the man. The nation must abide by the same standards as his individual heroes. He stands here as the prophet of national righteousness, the righteousness of the Puritans and the Covenanters, of the noblest of the Romans, and of the Hebrews. With Cecil Rhodes, he believes that racial evolution is the path of God among the nations, but he also believes in certain principles of national conduct which are essential to development. To some extent, more than to any other modern man, there has fallen to him the mantle of the old Hebrew prophets, who came out of the desert to stand unblanched before kings and proclaim the laws of the God of righteousness. Before a people drunk with pride he stood and cried the great warning, "Lest we forget, lest we forget." To the same people he writes:

> Keep ye the law—be swift in all obedience.
> Clear the land of evil, drive the road and bridge the ford.
> Make ye sure to each his own,
> That he reap what he hath sown;
> By the peace among our peoples, let men know we serve the Lord.

This is the gospel of justice, as well as of force. In the God of battles and the mission of conquest Kipling believes, and voices his belief in a battle hymn:

> The earth is full of anger, the seas are dark with wrath:
> The Nations in their harness go up against our path!
> Ere yet we loose the legions, ere yet we draw the blade,
> Jehovah of the Thunders, Lord God of Battles, aid!
> . . . . . .
> E'en now their vanguard gathers, e'en now we face the fray—
> As Thou didst help our fathers, help Thou our host to-day!
> Fulfilled of signs and wonders, in life, in death made clear—
> Jehovah of the Thunders, Lord God of Battles, hear!

This is in the spirit of the Old Testament; the army of David might have chanted it before they joined battle with the Philistines. It is not in the spirit of peace conferences or of Jesus, but it is the national religion of realism, the best that can be reached in the day of militarism, the control of

force by absolute justice. Even here there is an idealistic strain, the apostle of might is still in advance of the general practice of his time. So far the religious influence of realism as exemplified in Kipling would seem to be but for the hour. Its code of character is individualistic and for the most part of the frontier; and even now the frontiers are fast being obliterated, and with their passing individualism will receive its deathblow. The gospel of force controlled by justice is for an age of militarism, and that age is fast waning. If this be all, the sole hope of the realist to exert more than a transient influence is to so truly portray the character of his day as to happen upon some universal qualities. There are, however, two other characteristics in Kipling which have a permanent religious value. In them he enters into the deeper things of life, touching human nature in the ideal realm.

The first of these is found in his high ideal of responsibility for his work. In these days, the influence of industrialism, with its contracts and its shoddy, lies heavy upon our artists, yet this man sings of the time when

> Only the Master shall praise us and only the Master shall blame:
> When no one shall work for money and no one shall work for fame.

The casual reader knows nothing of this side of Kipling. He knows him only as the much-heralded scoffer, "the young man with his hat cocked over his eyes;" yet the reverence with which this man regards his task is the inevitable consequence of the same faithful realism that some have found so objectionable. The man who would draw the thing as he sees it for the God of things as they are must feel intensely his responsibility for the work.

Here and there the man lets us see how, when he lays down the tools, he turns for the approval of the Supreme Workman, as he does in the following:

> Lo, I have wrought in common clay,
> Rude figures of a rough-hewn race!
> For Pearls strew not the market-place
> In this my town of banishment,
> Where with the shifting dust I play,
> And eat the bread of Discontent.
>
> . . . . . .

Small mirth was in the making. Now
I lift the cloth that cloaks the clay,
And wearied at Thy feet I lay
My wares ere I go forth to sell.
The long bazaar will praise—but Thou—
Heart of my Heart, have I done well?

This is the spirit of true work, which makes it religious, whether a man build houses or empires, drive engines or write poems. The man who works in this spirit is no money-seeker, no place-grabber or time-server. He will speak his word of truth though the heavens fall, for he works ever before the face of the living God. The contempt of this sort of a worker for rewards is beautifully set forth in the following verse from the "Rhyme of True Thomas the Harper." Says the harper to the king:

I ha' harpit a shadow out o' the sun
To stand before your face and cry:
I ha' armed the earth beneath your heel,
And over your head I ha' dusked the sky!
I ha' harpit ye up to the Throne o' God,
I ha' harpit your secret soul in three:
I ha' harpit ye down to the Hinges o' Hell,
And ye—would—make—a Knight o' me!

The man who works in such a spirit, and embodies it in his song, strikes a note of true religious worth, the highest note of realism, where it shades into idealism by very fidelity to its own principles. Such a worker is of the prophets. With all who have done true work in the world, he stands ever face to face with the great bare facts of the universe. The everlasting reality presses home upon him that a man's work must stand for judgment through the eternities, and in the presence of such a truth all else passes. The shouts of the multitude, the rewards of kings, the babbling of the critics, the scorn of the contemners—what are they? This is the supreme question, "Heart of my Heart, have I done well?"

The other great religious truth which cannot escape the reader of Kipling is the unity of life. The great world poets brought us this message, born of intuition and insight, and therefore are they common to every age and every race. They bind together the nations and the centuries because they truly discerned the strands of the common thread of human nature.

Now, in these latter days, has come one to report the same great truth by observation. Kipling, beyond all writers, is remarkable for the universality of his characterization. For him there are no boundaries of class or creed or color. In the long bazaar, where the ends of the earth strike hands, of all the motley throng there is not one he has not made his own. From all the shores of the seven seas he has added to the company, and even from the jungle's heart he has called that strange spirit who was kin to all the beasts. He is the great cosmopolitan spirit, the incarnation of the genius of his age. On three continents, and at all the crossroads of the world's traffic, he has shared the life of men. With Gaul and Teuton, Celt and Kaffir, Jew and Saxon, Hindu and Moslem, he has lived; to them all he is a brother of the blood. Not only has he seen the great composite face of humanity on all its sides, in all its moods, but he has recognized himself behind that face, has frowned and smiled, groaned and cheered, laughed and cursed with it. As the result of it all, having touched every vein of our great cosmopolitan life, having looked into its inmost heart, Kipling brings us the word that there is "neither East nor West, border nor breed nor birth, when two strong men stand face to face, though they come from the ends of the earth." All his men, of whatever rank or color, have a common code of conduct, common standards of character, not because he has molded them to one ideal, but because at many points he has sounded the depths of human nature and found it one. Thus the realist, with his varied description of the life that now is, joins with the great company of seers and dreamers to tell us of the unity of life. This is perhaps his most enduring message. On every sea, under every sky, of every race and creed, we are all brothers of the blood, sharing a common life; and a cosmopolitan civilization is slowly drawing us together in common standards of conduct and character. Here the realist voices the eternal truth—the heart of the world is one.

Harry T. Ward.

Art. VII.—A CENTURY OF AMERICAN FICTION.

The uses of fiction are as many as the offices of preaching, and the romance is as old as the sermon. It is a matter for congratulation and not regret that the production of novels in this country has kept pace with that in foreign fields. An indigenous literature is as important as domestic manufacture. Home-made ideas are as essential to the independence and the integrity of a people as home-made goods are necessary to their physical well-being. The proportion of novels to the whole number of books published in the United States exhibits each year a steadily increasing per cent. At present they are more than one fourth of the separate works and considerably more than a majority of the individual volumes, while fully three fourths of the books taken from the public libraries belong to this class. The recent introduction of a course of fiction into the curriculum of one of the oldest colleges and the substitution of the novel for the Bible at the Sunday evening service of a prominent church further indicate the trend of the times. Here, then, is a force to be reckoned with, since there is every prospect that this form of literary activity is to have a much larger development.

From the beginning of its history this country has presented an inviting field for the fiction-maker. The Puritan, grim and superstitious; the obese and laughter-provoking Dutchman; the red man with his bloody tomahawk and string of scalps; the proud cavalier of the South; and the hardy pioneer of the West—these and many other ingredients of our oddly mixed population have formed a background for romance as fascinating as ever appealed to the skilled pen of a Dickens or a Thackeray. Indeed, these two—England's greatest humorist and arch-satirist—were tempted from their native heath by these picturesque fields across the sea, soon, however, abandoning them for the old workings which they found more congenial to their taste. Thus, romantic America was left for the most part to develop its own literary artists.

The first in the field was Charles Brockden Brown, a strange composite of Quaker, infidel, and misanthrope, who

launched his *Wieland* just about one hundred years ago. It belongs to the class of lime-light fiction, and exhibits all the crudities of a forerunner. He revels in the weird, the sensational, and the supernatural; his heroes walk in horrors and live under a canopy of perpetual storm. Had the author possessed other literary gifts in like degree with his talent for the tragic, he might easily have been the first of American fictionists in rank, as well as time, for the element of morbid analysis which Edgar Allan Poe acquired under the stimulus of wine and Nathaniel Hawthorne by dint of painstaking toil was to Brown the gift of nature. What this man, who towered in imaginative power above all the moderns of his craft, might have accomplished with a long life to chasten and refine his art, it is curious but useless to speculate, for an early death cut short the immature fruitage of the pioneer of American letters. Next came a man who painted with quite other pigments. James Kirke Paulding, our second novelist, was in emotional nature the reverse of the first. With considerable advance in literary form, we are transported from the Tartarean regions of Brown into the kindliest sun of healthful humor and manly fun. He finds something amusing in all his characters, even the stern-visaged Puritan whose jokes have a prayer meeting flavor, and he introduces us to the quaintly dignified Knickerbocker afterward so delightfully exploited by Washington Irving. In *The Dutchman's Fireside*, the author's highest level, there is a rich portrayal of the customs of colonial life, with no lack of incident or incisive phrase; but the tale is amateurish, loosely jointed, and the dramatic elements lack the trained touch of a master. The same may be said of his contemporary, John Neal. A typical Yankee and a man of many trades, he is perpetually getting in front of his characters, lecturing them and us, now clergyman and now clown, spoiling his plot for the sake of his preach. In fact, almost every writer of the period must have his sermon. To tell a story for its own sake, to construct a work of art without its moral, was, according to the notions of the age, to have toiled in vain. The same defect mars the work of Sylvester Judd, a preacher by profession as well as in pretense, and a genius whose novel *Margaret* would have

been immortal if only he could have divested himself of his clerical gown. To miss so narrowly a niche in the temple of fame seems a pity too, when we consider the wholesome nature of his product, for it has tonic qualities sadly lacking in present fiction with its often poisonous foreign brew. Judd's goods were home-made brands. He was a dramatist without pessimism and a realist without obscenity; but, alas! he belongs to that numerous class who have deprived themselves of a hearing through preaching "too long and too loud."

The dust of time will doubtless cover all four of the writers mentioned, but not so the three now to be named, each having his unique personality and destined to be read as long as the English language survives. The first of this remarkable trio is James Fenimore Cooper—first because the earliest to acquire international fame. The unprecedented success of his novels was due, however, to the richness of the new vein, rather than to the skill of the author. He is a careless workman, and makes immense draughts upon the credulity of his reader. Thoroughly objective in his treatment of his heroes, he is as deficient in psychology as a schoolboy. His Indians he draws from the largeness of his own nature, and by idealizing the red men he has given us a wrong notion of their inherent nobility. From these exalted conceptions it is a far cry to the opinion of General Crook, who said that "the only good Indian was a dead one." Still, with all his defects, his romances were more popular than those of any other author down, at least, to the writing of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

The author who next demands our attention, strange to say, has not yet his position fixed in American literature. As the place of Walt Whitman in poetry will perhaps always be a matter of dispute, so it may be will be the place of Edgar Allan Poe in fiction. That he was a star of the first constellation, and that he shed a kind of mesmeric light over many lands, charming mercurial souls of other climes more than he impressed his own countrymen, none will be disposed to deny. Indeed, as with Whitman, some persons have been so dazzled with his peculiar genius as even to render him apotheosis. Strangely incomprehensible to Americans is the extravagant, if not profane, vow of Baudelaire, himself one of the most

striking personalities of all French literature: "I swear to myself henceforth to set up the following eternal rules of my life—to make each morning my prayer to God, the fount of all strength and all justice, to my father, to Mariette, and to Poe, as intercessors; to beg them to give me the strength necessary to accomplish all my duties; and to obey the principles of the strictest sobriety." If the definition of Maurice Thompson is correct, that genius is the power to awaken in others an unmanageable enthusiasm, then Poe's gift would seem to meet the test. His orbs were lawless, cometary bodies, plunging down from the zenith or shooting up from the nadir instead of moving in the planes of ordinary human life.

The third great writer of our early fiction was Nathaniel Hawthorne, and here at last we find the artistic conscience. When, in 1850, his second novel, *The Scarlet Letter*, was published it was seen that a real master and scholar, vying even with Irving in grace of style and purity of language, had appeared in American literature. If his range is not so wide as that of some European novelists, he is surpassed by none in his subtle depths of insight into the human heart. There is also in his matchless creations an element hard to define. What the sun is to the scenery, what the minor scale is to music, what the sense of sacredness is to the temple—that is the potent charm with which this romantic seer, like the prophets of olden time, captivates the reader. Some call this magic spell spirituality; some, supernaturalism; some, an atmosphere; but, whatever it is, one feels himself irresistibly drawn down into the unplumbed depths of a whirlpool where the eye casts the lead in vain and the feeble cry is without avail. No man in any land or any age has more forcibly depicted the relentless law of heredity, or weighed in surer scale the responsibility of paternity. Every link between cause and effect is fast forged in the fires of fate, but fate man-created. Behind a beauty of expression and on the background of a literary art well-nigh perfect, there is the slow and awful evolution of a plot as fatal and final in the crushing of the wrongdoer as the winding of the serpents in Michael Angelo's "Last Judgment." This is the kind of work that belongs to immortality.

No account of the first half century of American fiction

would be complete without the mention of another writer—one whose classic pen has endeared to the national heart several quaint old hamlets, half real and half legendary, that nestle under the shadows of the mountains along the Hudson River, and one who probably forever will be the acknowledged prince of American prose. But Washington Irving was a sketch writer, rather than a novelist. He attempted no large canvas, but his "Rip Van Winkle" and "Legend of Sleepy Hollow" show of what polish and point a tool is capable. With him and Hawthorne we get the first smack of Helicon, the so-called sixth sense, the artist's secret of mixing his colors with brains. With the other writers there had indeed been no lack of brains, but generally at the cost of the story. Poe may have been the greater genius, but he was a blind and untutored Cyclops, his a weird voice out of the human soul singing without rhythm or motive. These better artists play upon our finer sensibilities or touch our moral sense, as the appeal to life is always more valuable than the mere eccentricities of genius, as the tiniest flower that the bee visits has more glory than towering ice-fields under the eternal shades.

There were other novelists of this period writing in a minor key. William Gilmore Simms, portraying passions rather than characters, was the originator of fiction of the dime story type. Catherine Maria Sedgwick led a long line of women romancers whose pens have constrained the public eye. Fanciful instead of imaginative, evincing ingenuity in place of skill, she interests rather than absorbs the reader. Lydia Maria Child, of nearly equal stature, did some fair work, but, lacking both the Hawthorne power to concentrate and the Kipling genius to transmute, can hardly hold more than a third-rate place. John P. Kennedy, whose character drawings are generally worthless, survives by his *Horse-Shoe Robinson*, probably the best work of fiction treating of the American Revolution.

About this period—the middle of the century—attracted perhaps by the success of Hawthorne, scholars of every walk in life entered the field. The historian left his books, the painter dropped his brush, the poet turned a deaf ear to his muse, and even the preacher sloughed his sacred stole, all to woo the fickle goddess of fiction. When we open the book at the second

half century, although there is no sharp line of demarcation, there is a decided change in the character of the work. The tone is deeper. Our national life was growing more serious; slavery, temperance, and labor problems were coming to the front. There was the hush of impending conflict. In 1852 appeared that epoch-making book, Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It was a fiery Gospel disguised as a story, a hot typhoon out of the South, an incisive tooth that bit into the Northern conscience. The author was well equipped for her task, for she had in her veins the fearless blood of the Beechers, in her intellect the imagination of a Walter Scott, and in her heart the sympathies of the great Son of Sorrow. No tale of fiction ever so aroused the moral passions. It is not a classic in style, but as an ethical force it is perhaps unparalleled outside of the Bible, save in the incomparable "Faust" of the great German. Several women authors followed in the wake of Mrs. Stowe—chief among them Mrs. Spofford, who harked back to Poe and Brown for her inspiration; Mrs. Alcott, who is peerless in her representations of boy and girl life; Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney, who worked in the same vein, but paid attention chiefly to the children of her own sex; and Mrs. Stoddard, who discovered "Dickensites" even under the mask of the solemn Puritan.

But the civil war came, and the scenes of that gigantic struggle, as well as the complications of the reconstruction period that followed, afforded rare material for the novelist's art, but no enduring monument of fiction has yet been reared to those years of awful memory. Some have done fair work in this direction—notably Oliver Wendell Holmes, with his versatile genius; J. G. Holland, whose didactic element is mechanically rather than chemically mixed with his story; and Judge Tourgée, who is more drastic than dramatic and has more sympathy than symmetry. These scholarly pens have given us charming passages of wit, vivid sketches of scenery, and vigorous portrayals of character; but the cunning magician who can do for "Yank" and "Reb" what Sir Walter Scott did for Highlander and Lowlander, or the deft hand which can work up the abundance of war material with the marvelous skill that Sienkiewicz employed in molding the heterogeneous

voices that made *Quo Vadis* the book of its year, if not of its decade, has not yet appeared.

In fact, the recent successes of fiction have been on quite other lines. Just as the life of the most popular over-sea writer ebbed out, a star of similar hue and almost of the first magnitude rose over the Sierras of the Far West. Bret Harte, the antipode of Henry James, was the cousin of Charles Dickens, although the one found his heroes in the wilderness and the other in the metropolis. Unlike in many points as these authors are, yet Miggles is the kin of Micawber. The charm in the case of the American is in the contrast, and the contrast is of many kinds—fine literary art working on coarsest clay, humor playing over hellish passions, the grafting of saintly qualities on the most depraved of sinners, the angelic and the demoniac in a juxtaposition never dreamed of by Dante, the Gospel of salvation in the lowest pit of human nature. Add to this the journalistic craft that always hits the happy word, knows when to pad and when to prune, and never misses the right minute to ring the curtain down, and you have the secret of Bret Harte's magic.

This hasty survey of the American novel brings us down to the times of William D. Howells and the reign of realism. Fictionists, like physicians, have always quarreled about their art, but with the former the dispute has been chiefly one of motive. What ought to be the novelist's aim? Should his work have the fidelity of the photograph or the freedom of the painting? The answer to this question has divided the forces of fiction into two camps. The old writers never sought anything other than to interest and amuse. They were story-tellers, pure and simple. Their origin—if we go not even back to Homer and Herodotus—writers under the guise of poet and historian—was among the *trouvères* and troubadours of the Middle Ages. It was the still more ancient folklore set to song and story. But, of late, there has arisen a school, principally French and Russian, whose teaching is that the novel should portray life—not life possible, exceptional, or even probable, but life actual and inevitable. Motives must be analyzed, natures must be natural, characters must be not heroic but prosaic, and all the machinery of life must be drawn on the

Philistine pattern of bread and butter getting. It eliminates the strange, the startling, and the supernatural, advising not, with Emerson, "Hitch your wagon to a star," but, "Tie your fiction to a fact." Of this theory Mr. Howells and Mr. Henry James have been the uncompromising advocates. The latter is the Matthew Arnold of fiction. He is the critic under the mask of the novelist, the painter of civilization rather than life, the refiner of silver and not the miner of the mountain's wealth. With him fiction is saturated with the scientific spirit; what cannot be declared to the ounce and the inch has no place. Conscientious even to his finger points, he must put in every petty detail. He is not the master artist who brings out the figure with a few swift touches of the brush. He has wit, but it is ill-secreted in his cells of thought; he possesses marvelous analytic power, but his characters seem to analyze themselves in their brilliant though often tiresome conversation. In felicity of phrase he reminds us of George Meredith, and in over-elaboration he recalls George Eliot, while he lacks the delicate sympathy of the one and the moral force of the other. Cold as a star, correct as a statue, clear as a pearl he never loses himself, never cries out, never is capable of a surprise. All his men and women are sane, all are sharp, and all, in one form or another, are Henry James himself. Through all his monotonously sparkling pages—slabs of fine ice—the ear aches for a shout, and the eye is parched for a tear. Here is realism, but it is realism of the sentence, not the soul. His work in its merits and demerits may be summarized in a single clause—it is art without heart.

But the head and front of realism in the United States is Mr. Howells, especially so since Mr. James has betaken himself and his English goods to a London drawing room. Mr. Howells is more American than Mr. James, and his style is more elastic. With the reportorial instinct for seeing and recording everything, with a touch as sure as Turgeneff, and a grasp on his characters as strong as George Eliot, he has made good his claim as a master of the realistic art. But his art is a limited one. In his forty or more novels he scales no heights, he fathoms no depths, he explores no dark continents of the human soul. He depicts superficial life with fidelity, and dis-

sects externals with surprising skill, but his types, though wonderfully real, are all of the mediocre kind. Through his faultless diction and countless idioms we can read his theory of life. There are no villains, he would tell us, only weak people; no heroes, only obliging persons. When we nod over the pages of passionless people—the constructions rather than the creations of this literary autocrat and his half-English colleague, Mr. James—and place over against them the giant figures bodied forth by the genius of other lands—the Jean Valjean of Hugo, the Père Goriot of Balzac, the Countess Irma of Auerbach, the Anna Karenina of Tolstoi, and the other volcanic natures that have given their authors a reputation world-wide and doubtless time-long—we see how these tame characters of our most finished writers suffer immeasurably by the contrast. Mr. Howells would indeed tell us that there are no such intense people, no villains because men are too lazy, and no heroes because they are too busy. With equal truth it may be said that God never made a man like the souls of Angelo or a mountain like the summits of Turner, yet the human race will ever delight in these masterpieces of chisel and brush.

It was but natural that many clever writers should follow in the trail of so pronounced and prolific an authority as Mr. Howells, but they have all been more or less overshadowed by the chief apostle of their school, and can hardly have a hearing in this rapid survey. Others, however, more independent or more impatient of the leader's whip, must have place. These are Samuel L. Clemens—our inimitable "Mark Twain"—"never in bondage to any man," whose humor has the stamp of universality, but whose misfortune it is, having begun as a fun-maker, not to be taken seriously by his public; Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett, who excels in placing characters over against each other and emphasizing by contrast, an art she has undoubtedly learned from George Eliot; Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, who, spurred on by the popularity of *Gates Ajar*, ventured *Beyond the Gates*, though celestial fiction must in the very nature of the case be a failure; F. Marion Crawford, who would do better work if he did not do so much, taking time to stand back as an artist and look at his toil, but who

evidently keeps close to his canvas, working apparently like Anthony Trollope watch in hand; George W. Cable, who discovered the Louisiana creole, opening thereby a new vein as rich while it lasted as that of Bret Harte's ruffian miners or Mrs. Stowe's plantation negroes; Julian Hawthorne, whose mistake it was to try to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious father, a kind of step which it is difficult, if not impossible, to copy; Eugene Field, with his great childish heart, a mimic like Stevenson and as simple and garrulous as old Richard Burton; Boyesen, who started well with idyllic scenes and, steeping himself in a fairy-like atmosphere, might have attained high rank as a romanticist had he not in an ill moment been introduced to Tolstoi and become infatuated with the realisms of the great Russian; and Frank R. Stockton, who by a sleight of hand hard to be detected in the action of the story causes his reader to take his absurdities in good faith. All these and several others have done work which has a fair chance for the library of the next generation.

Coming down to the very latest candidates for the novelistic bays, we find the following in best feather at the bookseller's —a rating, however, by no means safe on which to base a judgment as to merit. The characterization of their works can be spared only a line each. Henry Seton Merriam staggers us with a sense of the frightful distance between the base and the apex of the pyramid of modern society. John Kendrick Bangs amuses us with a unique combination of ghostdom and drolldom. Amelia Barr wins our love for her Scotch peasants who have the home soil and are not emigrating like so many of the children of roving pens. Mary E. Wilkins presents us with some yarns almost as exquisitely cut as those of Maupassant, the French master of the novelette. Richard Harding Davis, a reporter of the impressionist school, convinces us that he has not only a "nose for news," but also a scent of the popular taste. Gilbert Parker, with his French debonair and wild Indian grace—both real strains in his blood—interests us in old Quebec, the most romantic city on the continent. If we glance briefly at this later fiction as compared with the earlier, two or three things impress us as significant. The range is wider, the form is more artistic, and there is more skill in

character-drawing, with less of fanciful plot and striking incident. At the same time there is a decided loss in power and pathos, a lack of depth and richness, a deficiency in those forces of imagination which alone can create commanding and enduring literature. For genius we have grace, for grandeur of conception we have quickness of perception, and for great characters casting continental shadows we have dexterous management of lights and shades. The fault is not so much in the limitation of the author's mind as in false literary standards. Could a critic of impartial judgment, infallible taste, and universal reading arise to teach his countrymen to lay more stress upon creative sympathy than on subtlety of analysis, and to exalt the painting of a great character above the elaborate drawing of a mere portrait—as Brunetière, the most formative mind in France to-day, has taught his people to study the master minds of the past and of all lands for their exemplars—the gain to American letters would be great. When, however, we compare our fiction with contemporary foreign products, we find that what is loss for literature is gain for morals. If our artists lack Thomas Hardy's sprightliness, neither have they his loose notions of the marriage tie. If they cannot lay on color like Zola, neither do they paint the nude. If they fail of Tolstoi's spontaneity, neither are they so natural as to be sinful. After allowing for the vulgarity of Stephen Crane and the subtone of pessimism that detracts from Howells's otherwise valuable work, the great body of our fiction is wholesome.

We may well sigh, however, for a master's touch on this strange organ of the soul, a literary Mozart who shall do for romance what that genius of music did for the symphony, lifting it to a plane of eloquence, power, and purity to which it had not before attained; one who, amid the vast materials and complex conditions of modern life, shall be selective without being seductive, true to the time-spirit of his age, faithful to the best traditions and highest exactions of his art, and loyal to the widest claims of human sympathy and the most exalted demands of the Christian conscience.

Wilbert C. Blakeman.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

On page 854 of our November-December *Review*, 1899, in the article on Dr. Kynett, Bishop McCabe is erroneously quoted as saying that the great Church Extension Secretary at his death left that Society with "a church-building power of *two* churches for every week of the rolling year." This, of course, was an error. It should read "TWELVE churches for every week."

That the Holy Bible is indeed the Book of God is powerfully evidenced by the truth of the statement by Dr. Abraham Kuyper, of Holland, on page 368 of his *Encyclopedia of Sacred Theology:* "That faith which leads individuals and whole circles to conscious worship, not of the 'Unknown God' at Athens, but of the *known* Father who is in heaven, is not found, except where the *Scriptures* have been the divine instrument, in God's hand, of that knowledge."

Testimony to the value of missionary enterprise comes not infrequently from sources supposed to be antagonistic. Thus the *Indian Spectator*, though it is a non-Christian paper, in a recent editorial says:

> Whether by virtue or by necessity, the Indian people have acquiesced in the policy of a fair field for all faiths, and in the case of the Christian missions, they have even learned to value them for the wholesome moral influence which they diffuse all around. . . . We absolutely subscribe to Lord Lawrence's opinion that, "notwithstanding all that the English people have done to benefit India, the missionaries have done more than all other agencies combined." Lord Lawrence was too much of a man of action to be punctilious about the rules of syntax, but he was the last person to express an opinion that he did not feel.

Concerning an irreverent and destructive biblical criticism, Professor H. S. Nash writes:

> Criticism has many sins to answer for—some of them heavy. A considerable part of it has been characterized by an intellectual imperiousness wholly unbecom-

ing the patient seriousness of scholarship dealing with a noble subject. Many a critic has been as a pope without jurisdiction possessing that kind of infallibility that is able to hear the grass growing in Palestine two thousand years ago. Criticism has often been grossly irreverent. The Bible deserves to be handled by everyone with the deepest respect. It has been taken to the heart of the whole Occident. It has blent with all that is most tender and holy in the eyes of the masterful peoples of the world. It is enshrined in the affections of those nations into whose keeping history has given her main interests. Yet many critics have treated the Bible as if it were the private property of the men of the chair. And sometimes there has entered into criticism the motive that stirred up Erostratus to burn down the Temple of Diana.

THE BIBLE FOR YOUNG MEN.

Not all portions of Scripture are of equal interest, significance, value, or force. The Bible is a Koh-i-noor diamond of a million facets, each face thereof flashing light in its own direction. The moving vicissitudes of human life bring us successively opposite and facing different parts of it, so that we get the glint now of one face and next of another. The Bible has a message for each soul, season, and situation, and every individual of the fifteen hundred millions living on the earth, in any generation, may receive from the Bible his own specific flash of light at every stage of his experience and in each exigency of his need, as sure as every dewdrop glittering on the grass has its own particular sun.

Nothing is more convincing than explicit, first-person-singular testimony concerning what a capable and upright testifier has himself experienced. It seems not amiss to admit upon these pages the affirmations of four nonprofessional witnesses, literary men bred on books, bearing witness briefly to the beneficial power of certain particular parts of Holy Writ upon themselves in early and formative periods.

Professor John Stuart Blackie, of the University of Edinburgh, records that of all influences the Bible did most to enlarge his ideas, widen his sympathies, and purify his ideal of humanity, and adds:

To this book I am indebted for the greatest blessing that can happen to a young man at his first launch out of boyhood into youth, namely, the firm grip which it gave me of the grand significance of human life, and of the possibilities of human nature when true to its highest inspirations. I was not more than fifteen years old when I was moved to adopt the ideal ethics of the Gospel as my test of sentiment and my standard of conduct; and to this I adhered steadily thenceforward, just as a young seaman would stick to his compass and to his chart, and a young

pedestrian to his map of an unknown country. This early intimacy with the best of books—not a mere Sunday acknowledgment, but a living dedication of the life—kept me free from the power of those youthful lusts against which St. Paul warns Timothy, and which, if not kept under, have a fatal tendency to taint the blood and to dull the nerve of the moral nature in man. To this book, and specially to this epistle, I here delight to confess my obligations as to no other influence in the shape of printed paper; for, though I could have found a pure and elevated moral guidance in Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, or Marcus Aurelius, in my early years those teachers were not within my reach, and, even if they had been, could never have laid hold of me with the same authority.

Mr. W. T. Stead, Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, noting that from age to age the Bible remains undeniably the most authoritative and valuable of books, and testifying that some parts of it have influenced him powerfully while other parts have not affected him at all, relates his progressive experience with it as follows:

The first time I felt the influence of the Bible was when I first went to a boarding school. I was unspeakably miserable and forlorn. I was only twelve, and had never been away from home before. It was then I discovered the consolatory influence of many of the Psalms. Take them all round, the Psalms are probably the best reading in the world when you are hard hit and ready to perish. After I left school Proverbs influenced me most; and I remember, when I was first offered an editorship, reading all the Proverbs relating to kings as affording the best advice I was likely to get anywhere as to the right discharge of editorial duties. When I was busy with active, direct work among the ignorant and poor, the story of Moses's troubles with the Jews in the wilderness was most helpful. Later when, from 1876 to 1878, no one knew when he went to bed but that by morning Lord Beaconsfield would have plunged the empire into war, the Hebrew prophets formed my Bible. In 1885 it was the story of the evangelists. If I had to single out any one chapter which I am conscious of having influenced me most, I should say the first of Joshua, with its oft-repeated exhortation to be strong and to be very courageous; and if I had to single out any particular verses, it would be those which were taught me when a boy, and which I long afterward saw on the wall of General Gordon's room at Southampton: "Trust in the Lord with all thy heart; lean not unto thine own understanding. In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and he shall direct thy paths."

Remarking that our best education from books is from those in which we breathe a magnanimous atmosphere of thought and meet generous and pious characters, Robert Louis Stevenson relates that the authors which found and served him earliest were John Bunyan, with his *Pilgrim's Progress*, Shakespeare, D'Artagnan, and Montaigne in his *Essays*, and that after these in order of time the next to invade, capture, and subdue him was the New Testament, and in particular the Gospel According to Matthew, of which he wrote:

I believe it would startle and move anyone if they could make a certain effort of imagination and read it freshly like a book, not droningly and dully like a portion of the Bible. Anyone would then be able to see in it those truths which we are all courteously supposed to know and all modestly refrain from applying. But upon this subject it is perhaps better to be silent.

Rider Haggard, beginning at the age of eight, like many boys, with *Robinson Crusoe*, passed on to the *Arabian Nights*, the *Three Musketeers*, and the poems of Poe and Macaulay, until at seventeen he reached *Kenelm Chillingly* and, somewhat later, Dickens's *Tale of Two Cities* and Lytton's *Coming Race*. But reciting the chief books that mastered, moved, and molded him, early and late, his personal confession culminates thus: "And one immortal work moved me still more—a work that utters all the world's yearning anguish and disillusionment in one sorrow-laden and bitter cry, and whose stately music thrills like the voice of pines heard in the darkness of a midnight gale, and that is the Book of Ecclesiastes."

FORMATIVE INFLUENCE OF GREAT BOOKS.

A VISITING university president speaking to Yale alumni on "Reading," expressed regret that the reading of the really big books of the world seems to be falling into a desuetude not innocuous, meaning by big books those which for generations or longer have molded the minds of men and the institutions of society. This, if true, is deplorable, because the educational power of literature is so searching that "no one can know thoroughly the great books of the world and remain a Provincial or a Philistine; the very air of these works is fatal to narrow views, to low standards, and to self-satisfaction." The books recognized as great are not new, but weather-beaten with years. It was affirmed by some one that Grotius's book *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* is perhaps the greatest service ever rendered by man to his fellow-men. Doubtless the *perhaps* in that sentence ought to be italicized; yet it is assuredly true that in individual life and in general history vast service has sometimes been rendered by a single book. When the university president came to mention some spermatic and imperial books he named first, according to report, Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*. How much that modest-titled small big book influenced Horace Bushnell, Dr. T. T. Munger has recently told us in his study of the great Hartford preacher and theologian. Therein we are

informed that Bushnell almost owed himself to that one volume; that he developed under its teaching, and was one of the first to turn its light on the theology of New England. Beginning to read it in college, and finding it then foggy and unintelligible, he put it aside for a long time and then took it up again with a maturer mind. Concerning his experience with it Bushnell wrote:

> For a whole half year I was buried under the *Aids to Reflection*, and trying vainly to look up through. I was sure that I saw a star glimmer, but I could not quite see the stars. My habit was only landscape before; but now I saw enough to convince me of a whole other world somewhere overhead, a range of realities in higher tier, that I must climb after and, if possible apprehend.

The following passage is quoted as indicative of the sort of light which Bushnell received from Coleridge:

> Too soon did the doctors of the Church forget that the heart, the moral nature, was the beginning and the end; and that truth, knowledge, and insight were comprehended in its expansion. This was the true and first apostasy, when in council and synod the divine humanities of the Gospel gave way to speculative systems, and religion became a science of shadows under the name of theology, or at best a bare Skeleton of Truth, without life or interest, alike inaccessible and unintelligible to the majority of Christians. For these there remained only rites and ceremonies and spectacles, shows and semblances. Thus among the learned the Substance of things hoped for passed off into Notions; and for the unlearned the Surfaces of things became Substance. The Christian world was for centuries divided into the Many that did not think at all and the Few who did nothing but think, both alike unreflecting, the one from defect of the act, the other from the absence of an object.

Bushnell's biographer wonders whether the lines from Daniel on the original title page of *Aids to Reflection* struck fire on a nature all ready to be set aflame:

> This makes that, whatsoever here befalls,
> You in the region of yourself remain,
> Neighboring on heaven; and that no foreign land.

This one great book, we are informed, gave Bushnell his method and his general attitude to the whole field of thought, and unsealed to him such a fountain of light that looking back from old age he confessed more indebtedness to it than to any other book except the Bible. That it was from its first publication an epoch-making book is undeniable, and a host of men could doubtless declare that from then till now it has held what seems a permanent place among the intellectual forces of the world. Could we not have guessed that early influence of Coleridge on

Ruskin which was confessed by that pure, beautiful, aspiring, and transcendent spirit, but lately ascended from the earth?

F. W. Farrar places Coleridge in the front rank of authors who have potently affected his opinions and life, naming especially *Aids to Reflection*, although, receiving the entire works of Coleridge as a college prize, he absorbed them all, thereby learning permanent lessons of philosophy and theology, particularly on two subjects of utmost importance—the doctrine of the Atonement and that of the inspiration of the Scriptures. Dr. W. C. Smith, author of *Olrig Grange*, says that he owes what is deepest and best in himself to Coleridge, who did most for him on the religious side, influencing his spiritual nature, giving him clear guiding lights in the realm of theology, and especially helping him to a larger and better faith than Calvinism had furnished him. W. E. H. Lecky, the historian, cites from Coleridge the following passage, which he chose for the motto of almost his first published writing, as influential, also, over his later studies:

> Let it be remembered by controversialists on all subjects, that every speculative error which boasts a multitude of advocates has its golden as well as its dark side; that there is always some truth connected with it, the exclusive attention to which has misled the understanding; some moral beauty which has given it charms for the heart. Let it be remembered that no assailant of an error can reasonably hope to be listened to by its advocates, who has not proved to them that he has seen the disputed subject in the same point of view and is capable of contemplating it with the same feelings as themselves; for why should we abandon a cause at the persuasion of one who is ignorant of the reasons which have attached us to it?

Gladstone specified Aristotle, St. Augustine, Dante, and Bishop Butler as the authors who had done most for him. From Aristotle's *Ethics* Edward A. Freeman, the historian, testifies that he gained a power of discerning likeness and unlikeness, of distinguishing real from false analogies, and that from Butler's *Sermons* one learns and does not straightway forget what manner of man one is. By Butler, as also by Hooker, Archdeacon Farrar confesses himself to have been early and strongly affected; and W. E. H. Lecky when a student at Dublin University received from Bishop Butler's works his first great and determining intellectual impulse. The criticism he makes in maturer years is that

> While the *Analogy* is perhaps the most original, if not the most powerful, book ever written in defense of the Christian creed; yet it has probably been the parent

of much modern Agnosticism, for its method is to parallel every difficulty in revealed religion by a corresponding difficulty in natural religion, and to argue that the two must stand or fall together. Butler's unrivaled sermons on human nature, on the other hand, have been essentially conservative and constructive, and their influence has been at least as great on character as on belief. Their doctrine is that consciousness reveals in the inner principles of our being a moral hierarchy, "a difference in nature and kind altogether distinct from strength," and that among these principles conscience has, by the very structure of our nature, a recognized supremacy or guiding authority which clearly distinguishes it from all others.

That John Bunyan is among the authors of books incontestably great is confirmed by the immortal fascination of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, maintaining a perpetual demand for it, and is explicitly acknowledged even by such writers as Louis Stevenson, who owned the irresistible spell of that book which "breathes of every beautiful and valuable emotion," and Sir Walter Besant, who says it most seized his young imagination, and still seems to him the book which has influenced the minds of Englishmen more than any other except the Bible, adding that "while it survives and is read by our youth two or three great truths will remain deeply burned into the English soul; the first of which is the personal responsibility of each man; and the next is that Christianity does not want, and cannot have, a priest."

Milton also stands among the mighty masters of really great literature. To him Philip Gilbert Hamerton, like many others, was attracted by the high degree of finish in Milton's literary workmanship in both prose and verse, giving the reader profound and unfailing satisfaction, while Shakespeare's rougher work frequently repels. The English writer whom F. W. Farrar knew best and loved most in his formative years was Milton, whose poems were kept always on the table and largely learned by heart. From boyhood he felt supreme admiration for the sublime mind of Milton, and he says that the one piece of English prose which has exerted on him most lasting influence is that passage from the *Reason of Church Government* which points to "the inward reverence of a man toward his own person" as one of the chief principles of all godly and virtuous action, one sentence of the passage being the following:

> He that holds himself in reverence and due esteem, both for the dignity of God's image upon him and for the price of his redemption, which he thinks is

visibly marked upon his forehead, accounts himself both a fit person to do the noblest and godliest deeds, and much better worth than to deject and defile with such a debasement and pollution as sin is, himself so highly ransomed and ennobled to a new friendship and filial relation with God.

Archbishop Whately is reckoned by Mr. Lecky as a powerful, original, and independent thinker, whose style, as he says, though without grace, is admirable in its lucidity, and whose writings, though they appeal but little to common passions or wide sympathies, are infilled with one noble passion, the rarest and highest of all—the love of truth for its own sake. Whately was a reasoner who believed that most controversies can be resolved into verbal ambiguities, holding with Hobbes that "words are the counters of wise men, but the money of fools." In theology Whately practiced and urged the severest and most searching critical inquiry, believing that, if honestly and reverently pursued, it would lead only to orthodox belief; for he had firmer faith in the solidity of orthodoxy than have the much-afraids of our later day who fear that its foundations are imperiled by keen scholarship, unflinching analysis, and critical assault.

By vote of a multitude innumerable Sir Walter Scott holds a foremost place in English literature. Mr. Hamerton testifies that of all authors Scott has given him the greatest sum of pleasure, and that of a very healthy kind. The delight of his youth was Scott's poetry, especially the *Lady of the Lake* and *Marmion*, both of which Ruskin names among books that are good for everybody, and of which he never tired. Hamerton thinks the grand test of a really good book is that you should remember it, and says that, though he has read none of the Waverly Novels since he was sixteen, he remembers them all. The *Lady of the Lake* implanted in him a love of beautiful lakes with romantic islands in them, and his delight in them abides lifelong. To a youth who becomes thoughtful, Hamerton thinks, Scott is insufficient, but a man who has got through most of his serious thinking may return to him again and receive from him much of the old refreshment and delight. Professor Blackie has said that when he had appropriated and turned into blood and bone all the nutriment that Wordsworth could give him, he sought for some one who could help him achieve for the objective half of his nature what the Bible and Wordsworth had done for the subjective. He saw the necessity of getting

out of himself and steering free of the besetting sin of thoughtful young men, namely, philosophizing about life instead of actually living; and in this his need, he says, the *Deus ex machina* who came effectively to his aid was the cheerfulness, the strong and healthy vitality, the catholic human sympathy, the deep-rooted patriotism, fine pictorial eye, and rare historic furniture of Walter Scott, whom he learned to associate in æsthetic bonds with the sunny sobriety of Homer and the great Greeks. Besides stimulating a love of hills and waters, the prose and poetry of the foremost of literary Scotchmen made men familiar with "the great in conduct and the pure in thought."

Wordsworth was the one English writer who held most powerful sway over the early years of J. S. Blackie, who says:

> He, in fact, along with Goethe and my other German gods, held out an effective arm to redeem me from that "whirling gulf of fantasy and flame" into which the violent sweep of Lord Byron's indignant muse had a tendency to plunge his admirers. From the day that I became acquainted with Wordsworth I regarded Byron only as a very sublime avatar of the devil, and would have nothing to do with him. What influenced me in Wordsworth was the kindly spirit with which he tried to bind the highest and the lowest in one bond of reverential sympathy, the truly evangelical as well as profoundly philosophical insight with which he set forth in so many attractive forms the superiority of a wise humility to a willful pride, and his habitual subjection of delicate fancy and purified passion to the legitimate sway of reason.

Louis Stevenson thinks almost everyone who reads has been influenced by Wordsworth, though it is hard to tell precisely how. "A certain innocence, a rugged austerity of joy, a sight of the stars, 'the silence that there is among the hills,' something of the cold thrill of dawn, cling to his work and give it a particular address to what is best in us. I do not know that you learn a lesson; you need not agree with his beliefs; and yet the spell is cast. Such are the best teachers: a dogma learned may be only a new error—the old one was perhaps as good; but a spirit communicated is a perpetual possession. These best teachers climb beyond teaching; it is themselves and what is best in themselves that they communicate."

Mr. Hamerton, while finding pleasure in Wordsworth's love of nature, felt in the poet himself something repellant, and guesses it may have been his extremely obvious belief in his own moral and intellectual excellence.

Montaigne is an author whose influence, once felt, is not

easily outlived. Hamerton, naming him as the prose writer who affected his youth most and best, says:

His wisdom seems to me of the kind most applicable to a thoughtful human life that is to be kept in touch with common interests. For anyone who, like myself, desires to keep the thinking part of himself alive without becoming an intellectual dandy or epicure, Montaigne is a great friend and helper. Even now, when I have an hour to spend in reading and hesitate about the choice of a book, my hesitation ends as often as not in taking down a volume of Montaigne. There has, however, always been a want of completely docile discipleship in me on one important point. Montaigne deferred to custom with a degree of willingness that I have never been able to command, and he erected this deference into a principle. For me it seems merely a convenience in small matters and a lamentable sacrifice of principle in great ones. I should never conform to any political or religious party in deference to custom, nor would I get married, as Montaigne did, because the common usage would have it so. My sympathies have always been with all Nonconformists for conscience sake, and my antipathies are strong against caste observances, so here I differ from my old master, with his prudence and his conformity; but he lived in another age than ours, and we may still honor him for the stoutness and courage that he displayed in many ways, and for the essential truthfulness which was the basis of his character.

Montaigne's *Essays* fell early into Louis Stevenson's hands, and their power over him grew with his years. Of them he wrote:

That temperate and genial picture of life is a great gift to place in the hands of persons of to-day; they will find in these smiling pages a magazine of heroism and wisdom, all of an antique strain; they will have their "linen decencies" and excited orthodoxies fluttered, and will (if they have any gift of reading) perceive that these have not been fluttered without some excuse and ground of reason; and (again if they have any gift of reading) they will end by seeing that this old gentleman held a nobler view of life than they or their contemporaries.

To the works of John Foster a typical testimony, which might be manifolded from the experience of others, is that of Dr. Marcus Dods, Professor of Exegetical Theology in New College, Edinburgh, who says:

Before I had made a study of any writer, ancient or modern, and while as yet Fenimore Cooper was almost my sole noncompulsory reading, one of the most efficient teachers I have known took me in hand and put me on some methods of self-education. Among other things, he counseled me to read each week one chapter of Foster's *Essays*, and the following week to write what I remembered of it. As a discipline in attentive reading, in memory, and in composition, this was valuable, but as an introduction to Foster, no words can explain the influence it had upon my mental attitude and habits of thought. Analytic and critical, Foster is also imaginative and speculative, fond of feeding his imagination with history, philosophy, and expensive illustrated books of travel and of art. Not only are the writings of Foster—Essays, Lectures, Reviews, Journals—fitted to preoccupy the youthful mind with just observations on men and things, but they

lift the young reader to "a peak of Darien," whence a new world opens to his view, the immeasurable ocean of human life, where, if other explorers have penetrated, they have left no track and mapped out no discoveries. Foster possesses the opening mind with the belief that severe thinking on the motives of men, the varying situations of human life, the influences which mold character, and the principles which ought to govern men will always attain results of value and of interest. In his writings we see such results, and the process by which they are reached. And there is in him an intense thirst for knowledge, an affinity for what is spiritual, a keenness of observation, a closeness of reasoning, and a living vigor which give depth and felicity to his style and make his writing continuously trenchant and suggestive.

An influence not so radical as Foster's, yet as marked and beneficial, Dr. Dods thinks, is that of Faber, whom he calls an unrivaled spiritual pathologist, to whose scrutiny the whole human subject lies open, and who speaks with his eye steadily on the subject and in one of the most lucid and racy styles ever employed by an English writer, and with the austerity of his judgment relieved by the tender sympathy of a man who knows the infirmities of men and the difficulty of holy living.

Edward A. Freeman, the historian, names as the writers who held him fastest and taught him most in his Oxford days, and sent him farthest on his way to his lifework, Thomas Arnold and Lord Macaulay, of whom he writes:

> To me Arnold is not the famous schoolmaster, in which character he has had worshipers enough. Arnold of Rugby was nothing to me. All that I learned from him I should have learned just as well, perhaps better, if he had stayed at Laleham or at Oriel. But in his character of editor of Thucydides and author of the *History of Rome* there is no man from whom I learned more. It was not so much particular facts or particular views that I learned from him as something much greater. I learned from him how to use any facts or any views. I learned from him what history was. I learned from him the truth of the unity of history. I learned from him the folly of the wretched distinctions "ancient," and "modern," and what not, which make true historic learning almost hopeless. As to Lord Macaulay—the *History of England* did not come out till I had left Oxford, and I doubt if I read the *Essays* till about the same time; but of the *Lays of Ancient Rome*—I believe the critics of the grand style call them "pinchbeck," which I fancy is meant to be scornful—I can only say that they are still ringing in my ears with a note as fresh as they had fifty years back. I have said them over on their own ground; I have proved the truth of every epithet; and now, with the Sicilian deeds of Pyrrhus as my day's work, it is the notes of the "Prophecy of Capys," which come first home to me at the thought of the "Red King" and his bold Epirotes. Still, the *Lays* are play-work beside the *History*.
>
> I am told that the matchless writing of Macaulay is nowadays jeered at. I am not sure whether it is allowed to be "style;" I am not sure whether it is allowed to be "literature." I have now and then made some efforts to find out what "style" and "literature" are. I find that they are something very different from

Macaulay, something very different from Arnold, something, I might go on to say, very different from Gibbon. I have tried the writings of a notable "stylist," the great living model, I am told, of style. Now, did anybody ever have to read over a sentence of Macaulay or of Arnold, or even of the artificial Gibbon, a second time simply in order to find out its meaning? But I found that in my "stylist" a plain man could not make out the meaning of a single sentence without greater pains than are needed to follow an imperfectly known foreign language. A story seemed to be told; but there was no making out whether the story was meant to be fact or fiction. I will not say that I have imitated Macaulay's style, because I gather from what I saw of my "stylist" that Macaulay has no "style." I have not consciously imitated his manner of writing; that is, I have not tried to write like him. Yet Macaulay's manner of writing has been in the highest measure an influence with me. I have learned from him to say what I mean and to mean what I say—to cut my sentences short—not to be afraid of repeating the same word, not to talk about "the former" and "the latter," but to call men and things whatever they are. I have learned from him to say what I have to say in the purest, the clearest, the strongest, aye, and the most rhythmical, English that I can muster. If my "stylist" is "style," and Lord Macaulay is not "style," a man who wishes to be understood will say something more than "*scepe stylum vertas;*" he will say good-bye to "style" and stick to plain English.

While the intimate fellowship of great books is to be sought and cherished as most likely to be powerfully stimulative and ennobling, an awakening and empowering influence may often come to the mind from some casual and unexpected source. Philip Gilbert Hamerton has recorded that a few lines in an old number of the *Saturday Review* gave deep and lasting admonition, correction, and incitement to both his intellectual and his practical life. This is the extract:

It is the slovenliness of men and women which for the most part makes their lives so unsatisfactory. They do not sit at the loom with keen eye and deft finger; but they work listlessly and without a sedulous care to piece together as they best may the broken threads. We are apt to give up work too soon, to suppose that a single breakage has ruined the cloth. The men who get on in the world are not daunted by one nor a thousand breakages.

But it should not be forgotten that life is greater than literature. Sir Walter Besant, after enumerating and characterizing the great books which roused, kindled, moved, and molded him in formative years, concludes with these wise words:

There is, lastly, a Book into which some of us are happily led to look, and to look again, and never to tire of looking. It is the Book of Man. You may open that Book whenever and wherever you find another human voice to answer yours, and another human hand to take in your own. This Book naturally follows the reading of the boy, because all the books that ever were written are only valuable as they help him to read this Book, and to understand the language in which it is written.

THE ARENA.

THE PHARISEE IN METHODISM.

THERE is rapidly developing in our Church a pharisaic school which threatens, if it does not imperil, its ancient life. The secret of the vitality of Methodism, its *raison d'être*, is evangelism. Its mission has not been to define or emphasize any new doctrine or form, but solely to save men from sin. It was at first only a great, throbbing life which broke every band, dogmatic and ecclesiastic, which hindered its passion for souls and its aspiration for holiness. The best periods of its history have been those in which it has been truest to the spirit of its youth, when, shaking off the shackles of ancient usages, it adopted any and every method which it found to be effective, "becoming all things to all men so that it might win some." Its true evolution is the widest liberty in nonessentials, and the greatest diversity in multiplied applications to the spiritual needs of men. Methodism and Formalism, though verbally akin, are spiritually antipodal. If ever the living evangelism of our Church becomes incrusted with inflexible forms, there is no longer any reason for its continued existence. It is a pharisceism which is at once a profession and a grave.

I use the term with no purpose of contemptuous characterization, but because of its historic appropriateness. The Pharisees were the most dignified, learned, and influential religious sect among the Jews in the time of Christ. They took their rise in a determined opposition to the introduction of Greek philosophy and habits in Israel. They were the orthodox party of the country. They stood for the ancient faith. Their moral character was the highest. They were celebrated for the purity of their domestic life, their public morals, and their kindness to the poor. The finest characters of their day were found among them. Hillel, Zacharias, Shammai, Nicodemus, Gamaliel, Saul, were Pharisees. It was a surprise to devout men that Jesus did not himself become a Pharisee. They believed in the same God, the same Scriptures, the same nation. They had a common hope and a common purpose. Yet they were widely and hopelessly asunder. The dividing line was an impassable gulf. Jesus taught the *spirit life*. That inward life which originally unfolded the law and the prophets was the essential thing. He sought to awaken it in all men, when it would supersede the necessity of any particular rules and would create anew forms best adapted to its growth. The Pharisees, on the other hand, believed that the forms that a holy life once created must forever be holy, and were the only means to preserve the life. It was the divinity of an expanding life as opposed to the divinity of a rigid form.

The presence of the Pharisee in our Church is seen in many particu-

lars. We have a familiar instance in the tenacity with which many are holding to old evangelistic methods merely for the reason that they were the methods of our fathers. Most pastors of commanding churches are urged by brethren who believe themselves set to conserve the old-time faith, to the use of means in revival work which we know will retard rather than advance the kingdom of God. The only reason that should be given for any methods is that they are efficient. To persist in their use when they cease to throb with life is to burn incense to a serpent of brass, which in the wilderness was an instrument of healing, but at Jerusalem is *Nehushtan.*

We have another illustration in the discussion which is agitating the Church concerning the individual cup in the administration of the Lord's Supper. We have no disposition to champion the new method; for our experience in its use leads us to the belief that it degrades the divine service to a question of pots and kettles, and conceals rather than reveals the Lord's body. But to reject it on the ground of the sanctity of the old form is rank phariseeism which confounds a rite with the truth it enshrines. As a matter of fact, our canonical form is not that our Saviour gave us. It was the growth of sacerdotalism that took the administration of the elements from the priestly head of the family and gave it to the clergy. It was the dogma of transubstantiation which brought the communicant to his knees before the sacred host. Doubtless it is possible to retain an idolatrous form without the idolatrous spirit; but to make any form a holy thing is idolatry itself.

Still another instance of the pharisaic spirit in the Church is seen in the all but idolatrous adherence to the letter of the holy book. The letter is no more holy than the paper on which it is printed. The divinity of our Bible is not its pure Hebrew and Greek speech, its correct grammar, the accuracy of its science and history, nor the uncorrupted preservation of its original text. What makes our Bible divine is that it is the Revelation of God, his law, his salvation, his purpose, unfolding to us Him and ourselves and our destiny. In this respect it stands in solitary splendor among all other books and is properly speaking THE BOOK. But the things about which Biblical critics are concerned, important as they are, are still not Revelation. There is no need of our contending about them as though the Gospel of the Son of God were to stand or fall with them. Those who do, have the Pharisee's conception of the divinity of forms, which must necessarily lower the tone of their spiritual life and darken their vision of the Truth itself. But he who gets from the Bible the revelation of what God is and what he means is at once lifted out of "an incredible mechanism of words and rites" into the life of God.

We name another particular in which we begin to feel the presence of the Pharisee. When the Church seeks a more elaborate service in public worship, and one appropriate to its advanced growth, the Pharisee would cast it in ancient molds. He even commends the use of the Apostles' Creed, the oldest and poorest adapted to the expanded life and

thought of the Church. We have no objection to the creed *per se* any more than we have to the stencilings on the walls. But why make a form which is so meager, so false in name, so inaccurate in some of its statements, and so uncertain in others, the word in which the worshiper voices his faith? To argue its sanctity on the ground of its antiquity is the very cant of phariseeism. Bishop Vincent's statement of the doctrines of grace is infinitely better.

The Pharisee furthermore lays a withering hand on personal liberty in private matters, such as dress, food, equipage, amusements. He minutely defines what is and what is not lawful. He forbids things which once were associated with evil, even when that evil is eliminated and the reason for the prohibition has ceased. It thus makes virtue a barren and lifeless negative.

The limit of these pages forbids further specifications; and those we have given are possibly too meager. But I am sure that I have not stepped into the arena to face a man of straw. The Pharisee is with us, clad in the garments of a holy traditionalism, using the fair speech of the fathers, zealous for the forms of the heroic days, austere in his morality —beautiful as the chiseled marble mausoleum. But in his heart are the moldering bones of a dead evangelism. If ever our Methodism outlives its evangelism, and ceases to be a revival Church, there is no longer any reason for its continuance. It is what Renan once said of the Hebrew Church, "a walking skeleton which has survived the blow that slew it."

Newark, N. J. ALEXANDER HARRISON TUTTLE.

PREACHING BOTH SIDES OF THE GOSPEL.

In relation to current reforms and questions of the day the minister needs to preach a whole Gospel. The heavenward side of the Gospel concerns itself with theology, with the mutual relations of God and man, and with those more distinctively abstract and supernatural themes which arise from man's other-world affinities. These heavenward aspects and relations are the philosophic and revealed biblical bases of man's duties both godward and manward, and in every well-balanced scheme of preaching are always first to be taught and emphasized.

But it is none the less to be recognized by the pulpit that these things are given simply as the foundation for our present-world practical living. Duties to our fellow-men, to the visible kingdom of God on earth, and to society at large are the vital, practical outcome of the heavenly vision. We are not told of the life hereafter, of God in redemption, and of a judgment to come for our mere intellectual or imaginative gratification, but with a matter-of-fact view to practical righteousness here. The teaching of theology only becomes valuable as it relates itself to the performance of the duties of righteousness in the life that now is. To teach men of God means nothing worth while, except it practicalize itself in the teaching of the cardinal moral virtues.

It is the temptation of the preacher to dwell too much upon one or the other of these, upon either the heavenward or the earthward aspect of the Gospel. If a moral coward, he takes refuge from the duty of reproving and exhorting men with all authority and doctrine, as Paul says, by speaking wholly upon the theological aspects of his message. He neglects application. He does not say, "Thou art the man." He dwells habitually in his ministrations in cloudland and the heavenlies, and thus escapes antagonizing the miser, the liquor dealer, the dishonest church member in the pews before him. He preserves his stay among the people with whom he dwells, but at the cost of one half his loyalty to his divine message. On the other hand, the mere humanitarian and the sensationalist, while he may preach popular sermons on the sins of the time, yet, because of his lack of having laid the foundation of moral duty in a just view of man's relation to the supernatural and eternal, lacks authority for his message. It is simply as the crackling of thorns under the pot, and comes with no "thus saith the Lord" and its deep appeal to man's moral nature.

Jesus preached both sides of the Gospel. He dwelt often on the scenes of the final judgment, on man's supernatural birth, on the divine fatherhood, and on the heavenward outlook of man's life. None the less did he preach against the Pharisee, the hypocrite, the bigot, the extortioner, and the man without mercy or love; and he did this so cogently that it at last cost him his life. No minister can by any possibility preach more of politics—using that word in its best sense—than did Jesus. He was a preacher of righteousness, with the most directly personal and practical bearings and applications in his discourse that we can conceive. Had he lived in our day, he would be at the very forefront of the reforms in respect of labor, temperance, civic righteousness, and the like, simply because all he said regarding his Father was with the design of effecting the brotherhood of man.

Away, then, with the idea that a minister is preaching the Gospel only when he dwells on the divine side of religion. The human is the practically important side. The other is its sanction and basis; but he is a coward who takes refuge in a declaration of mere abstract principles, and shuns to warn men of sin, and righteousness, and judgment. Let ministers preach a whole Gospel.

J. C. Jackson.

Columbus, O.

A NEW HYMNAL.

The watch-cry for the twentieth century has gone forth—"Two million converts and two million gold eagles," to which we respond with a hearty "Amen! and a new hymnal." From the first Methodists have been famous for vigorous and joyous singing. We are in danger of losing our pre-eminence in this respect; indeed, some would say we have lost it. If so, it can and should be recovered. We cannot maintain an acknowledged supremacy, however, without constant and persistent effort.

Our Aim.—Why do we sing in our services? What end do we wish to attain by our church music? Is our aim "high art?" Then let us secure quartets of skilled musicians and pay their price. Is our object to dazzle the spectators? Then we should gather large choruses of superior voices, and to these add expert soloists. If our purpose, however, is to enkindle thought, to subdue hearts, to inspire loving worship—then let all the people be encouraged to sing and be taught to sing. Let them sing "with the spirit and with the understanding also." We regard church music not as an end but as a mighty instrument for accomplishing the grandest possible result, the salvation of men.

Requisites.—To accomplish the purpose at which we aim certain conditions are necessary. Our pastors must not be ignorant, indifferent, and haphazard in their management of this part of public worship. They must appreciate this important means of grace, must love holy song, and know how to secure it. Our theological schools are doing good work. We only wish that they might do more. At any rate our ministers in their pre-graduate, graduate, or post-graduate courses should learn some things. They should, for example, be familiar with the English Bible, should understand the elements of public prayer, know how to conduct a funeral service, run a prayer meeting, and how to manage the church music. These are some of the things a pastor ought to learn, even if he is deficient in ancient philosophy and dogmatics, or is not up to date on evolution and the higher criticism. Another indispensable condition of real success is a weekly singing class in every church for at least two terms of ten or twelve weeks in the year. The first money that the committee on music expends should not be for an organist or a chorister, but for a competent teacher for the children and young people. This school should be graded. The beginners, after they have learned to read music, should be promoted into an advanced class, and from this class the best singers should be graduated into the choir. In many places the children do not attend the preaching services, or if they do attend, they are not interested in them. If, however, we teach them to sing, and give them to understand unmistakably that they are wanted in the congregation to assist in the service, we shall secure their presence and the singing will be a success. The smaller and the more feeble the church, the more this system is needed. Another important though not an imperative need is a good choir. By a good choir we mean a well-balanced company of trained men and women who love to sing the Lord's songs and, because they have the Christian spirit, love to help others to sing. The gifts and labors of our church choirs are not always appreciated. Their services are usually gratuitous and their work is trying. We should pray for them in public and in private, and give them judicious encouragement. People frequently say to a pastor, "We enjoyed your sermon very much;" or, "Your discourse was helpful." Such words of appreciation are encouraging to a pastor, and would be also to a chorister, a soloist, or a member of the choir. Other means can be devised to show that the

efforts of these persons, whom God has endowed with unusual musical gifts, and whom he has called to lead his people in holy song, are duly appreciated. A choir is not indispensable, but it is often desirable, and if we have one, we should aim to have a good one.

A Suitable Hymnal.—This is of the greatest importance. It may be claimed that the present book is a good one. We grant this, and yet it is not altogether suited to the needs of the Church. The revisers of the English Bible did not undertake their work because the King James version was not a good one, but because they believed that a revision was needed, and that they could make a good book better. We advocate a revision of the hymnal for the same reason. The Methodist Episcopal Church has always furnished its people with a good hymn book. The ancestor of the whole family, published by Robert Spence, of York, England, was a good book. It was adopted by Bishops Coke and Asbury for that very reason. It was "revised and improved" and copyrighted by Ezekiel Cooper in 1802, because it was so good a book that other publishers began to print it. It was augmented by Bishop Asbury in 1808. Dr. Bangs reedited and again improved it in 1821. Then it was republished with a supplement in 1836. Dr. James Floy and his associates, a committee of seven appointed by the General Conference of 1848, revised it again and greatly improved it, and Dr. Buckley, chairman of a committee of fifteen appointed by the General Conference of 1876, and his fellow-workers edited our present hymnal. This book has been in use twenty-two years, longer than any previous revision except that of 1849, which the bishops of that day thought would last "for generations," but which really gave satisfaction less than one generation. Dr. Buckley, in the *Quarterly Review* of 1876, page 323, expressed a similar hope concerning the present book, but it was an unwarrantable expectation. One generation cannot do the work of another. We provide for our needs and our children will do the same. A progressive Church ought to revise its hymnal at least once in twenty or twenty-five years. The present hymnal is too large and cumbersome. It weighs nearly two pounds. A quarter of a century ago church hymn books, as a rule, contained ten or twelve hundred hymns and sometimes more. They have been revised since then and greatly reduced in size. The old *Plymouth Collection* contained 1,374 hymns. The new *Plymouth Hymnal*, 1894, contains 638 hymns. The *Baptist Hymn and Tune Book*, of 1858, contained 1,518 selections. *The Baptist Hymnal*, of 1883, has 704 hymns. *The Church Hymnal*, Protestant Episcopal, 1889, has 679 hymns, and the *Hymnal for Congregational Churches*, 1898, contains 724 selections. The value of a hymnal does not depend upon the number of hymns it contains. *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, probably the most popular hymn book ever published—a million copies a year were sold for more than twenty years—contained in the enlarged edition only 473 hymns. The *Coronation Hymnal*, 1894, edited by Drs. A. J. Gordon and Arthur T. Pierson, contains but 408 selections.

The new hymnal should carefully preserve the cream of the present book and include, also, some of the best hymns and tunes that can now be obtained, making in all a collection of five or six hundred selections. More than that number will make it costly, cumbersome, and discouraging. It should be a book that will be popular with the people, containing such selections as they can understand and enjoy. At the same time we must try to win the favor of choristers and choirs. The present book has never gained the enthusiastic regard of this class. If our singers had always been supplied with the choir edition, the result might have been different, but too frequently the books purchased for the choir have been the duodecimo edition, with the music at the top of the page and the words at the bottom. No Methodist can be proud of that book and no musician can tolerate it. Not long since the writer saw some singers collecting the vestry books and taking them into the choir. The hymns were "Onward, Christian soldiers," and "Coronation," both in the hymnal. Later we saw the small edition of the hymnal with tunes in the singers' seats, and we understood their action. They would not use the hymnal unless they were obliged to do so. The new book should be printed in good, clear type, the words and music together—that is, the soprano and alto upon the upper staff, the tenor and bass upon the lower, and the words, from two to five stanzas, between them. All other arrangements are inconvenient and obsolete. Only one set of plates should be made, so that, whatever the binding, the open book will have a familiar appearance, being just like every other copy in the whole connection. The book should contain, besides the necessary indexes, a few pages of the Ritual, as at present, and a psalter for responsive readings arranged, not according to the mechanical versification of the received text, but in harmony with the original Hebrew parallelism.

The coming General Conference should appoint an able committee, some of them practical musicians, give them necessary instructions and ample time, two or three years at least, and request them to prepare a new and up-to-date hymnal for use in the Methodist Episcopal Church in the first part of the twentieth century. CHARLES S. NUTTER.

St. Albans, Vt.

THREE MUSES IN A SECOND-HAND SERMON SHOP.

A LATE intruder is this concern among Americans. May its tribe not increase! But, abroad, it is still in good and regular Church standing, as is evidenced by the accompanying unblushing announcement in two late lists of second-hand books and wares for sale by a reputable theological bookseller in Great Britain:

MSS. AND LITHOGRAPHED SERMONS.

670 **MANUSCRIPT SERMONS.**—A long Series by **S. P. O.**, lithographed in a large clear hand; 8s per dozen, or 21s for fifty.

671 —— Another Excellent Series of Lithographed Sermons; 7s 6d per dozen.

472 —— Eighty-one Lithographed Sermons for the Christian Year, also Harvest and Funeral Sermons; £2 2s the lot.
473 —— Seventeen Lithographed Sermons for SAINTS' DAYS; 12s the lot.
474 —— Series of Eight Lithographed Sermons on the Seven Churches of Asia; 6s the lot.
475 **Several** Hundred Miscellaneous Lithographed Sermons; 20s for 50, or 12s 6d for 25.
476 **Several** Hundred Manuscript Sermons in various hands; 21s per 100.
769 **LITHOGRAPHED SERMONS.**—SEVERAL HUNDRED SERMONS by "S. P. O.;" lithographed in a large clear hand, 8s per dozen. 21s for fifty.
770 —— ANOTHER SERIES OF FINE LITHOGRAPHED SERMONS by a **BROAD CHURCHMAN**; beautifully written in a nice clear hand, 21s for fifty.
771 —— Two Hundred Exceptionally Fine Sermons (Broad); lithographed in a large clear hand £4 4s *the lot.*
772 —— Another Series, lithographed on thin paper, nicely written, 15s for fifty.
821 **MSS.** Sermons.—Several Hundred Manuscript Sermons, Various Hands; 6s for fifty, *for cash with order.*

Gazing thereon, I muse. By count, the offered packages number just twelve. Curiously suggestive is it of the twelve apostles! Can it be that to the writer's passion for archæology it has been given to stumble upon the sermon barrels of the whole apostolic college? But why not? Recalled is it that the "Wild" theory of Anglo-Israelism proves that they all turned up at last in the British "Isles of the West." What a coincidence, conjecture, and, therefore, proof!

Such being the fact, two of the lots—470 and 769—are noted as having by capitalization a sort of primacy. And well they may, for are they not the abundant and treasured product of "S. P. O?" And who else could that possibly denote but the humbly initialed Saint Peter, Orator (or possibly Oracle)? Nor did the Primate of the apostles leave his work without numerous other marks of identification. That his authorship might be concealed* from the censors of his day and the scoffers of ours, but unerringly revealed to the present antiquarian, he shrewdly cryptographed his name on each lot. On lot 470—with the transposition of but two letters in order to mislead the prying—in "mANuSCriPT sERmOnS" he spelled out his abreviated title and name as "SANC. PETROS!" The same did he in the other lot—though, for reasons, burying it a bit more deeply—so that in lithogrAPhED SeRmONS" we find "SAN PEDROS." Exactly does this difference suggest and corroborate history, for the earlier parcel bears the apostle's name as he was known among the Greek-speaking churches of the East, while the later-numbered parcel was produced in Spain, when as "San Pedro" he was on his way to England. How perfect the harmony!

* As certain well-known scholars insist that Paul twice concealed his name in the Greek of the first verse of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Again, yet more delicately. It is one of the canons of the higher criticism that every shred of an author's work, if examined microscopically, will be found shot through with the known mental traits of that author. Now all will recall that trait of Peter, partly mental and partly moral, whereby he viewed and styled the same thing differently at different moments. "Pseudology" is its modern ethico-psychological term. That trait is present here. Lot 470 is boldly capitalized as "manuscript" sermons, while in smaller type they are more truthfully characterized. Having doubtless been withstood to the face for the prevarication, and having wept bitterly thereover, with penitent pen Peter's later package—769—is properly capitalized as "lithographed." The marking is characteristic, the identification perfect! But "lithographed," did one say?" What paragraph could be more latent and yet, to eyes anointed, more patent? "*Lithos*" is but another Greek word for "*Petros*," "the Rock." "*Graphein*" means "to write." There it is! "Lithographed" means "writ by the Rock." Great, great is philology! "Lithographed" thus meaning "writ by the Rock," and being Peter's sign-manual, soon came to mean written by Peter's authority, then by his indorsement, then with his permission, then in harmony with his doctrine, and then that of his successor. Hence, most of the Primate's apostolic colleagues, as later all would-be orthodox teachers, fell into the habit of superscribing their sermons and productions as "lithographed." Its modern successor, as found in works issuing from papal Rome, is "*Superiorum Permissu.*" This is why the majority of these minor apostolic lots commend themselves as "lithographed."

Whiling but a moment longer over the listed treasures, it is noted that lot 474 is clearly the authorized autographs themselves of John's sermons to the seven Churches. A great find! Lots 770 and 771, suggestively together, are manifestly by Paul and some colleague of the twelve whose sympathy with him were otherwise utterly unknown to us. It needs no proof that the apostle to the Gentiles was the "broad churchman" of the college. What unprejudiced scholar but will instantly attribute lot 771, because of its "large clear hand," to him who penned Gal. vi. 11, "See with how large letters I have written unto you with mine own hand!" Moreover, the use by all three of the common stamp, "lithographed," as previously elucidated, proves that, much earlier than conjectured, the Pauline and the Johannine and the Petrine parties had become reconciled, and had compromised in the Petrine. The lambs lying down with the lion—inside.

"In truth," says one, "this musing doth wax amusing.* Speaks the writer in earnest, or in jest?" 'Tis enough. "This fable teacheth," as by a palpable absurdity the writer wills to show, that myriads, if not

* A lady recently wrote that in passing the custom-house at Constantinople a copy of the *Methodist Review* was confiscated, but was returned in half an hour, as somewhat published for amusement.

millions, of frost-bitten Christians are giving themselves to sundry semi-religious fads resting upon nonsense less sensible by half. Exit the muse archæological.

Enter the muse commercial. What a varied sermonic stock from which to select! Hand-made goods, factory-made wares! Doubtless both are duly labeled, "Made in Great Britain." The prices, also, are reasonable. That last lot may be had for three ha'pence apiece. But, strange to say, the factory-made article comes higher, probably owing to unexpired patents. These are priced all the way from threepence ha'penny to ninepence ha'penny. What a luxury a dozen of the latter must be! Probably they are the "g(u)ilt-edged" kind. And he who can afford to "stock up" at wholesale may reduce the cost of an eight-penny sermon by the dozen to fivepence by the hundred, net. It is possible that there is also a five per cent discount for cash. Not in supplying oneself with these second-hand goods is there the least danger of heretical infection of theological misfits. Two of these lots are invoiced as "Broad." By fair inference the others must be "all wool and a yard wide," or, more technically speaking, "warranted orthodox in exactly thirty minutes." As several of the earlier lots are priced high, they are probably of the "High" sort. The last two are presumably "Low." Those "Broads" seem to be staple goods at fixed market price, since both lots have the same wholesale quotation, two guineas per hundred. We wonder if "exclusive territory" or "county rights" are guaranteed to each purchaser! The Italic condition in the last bargain indicates the C. O. D. security, in marked distrust of the adage about honor among thieves. It is painful that the credit of second-hand sermon consumers should be so questioned.

On the other hand, from the workingman's point of view. Imagine, if possible, the frightful "sweating" process by which these goods must have been produced. To cut, make, and market a dozen fine sermons for adults, of assorted styles and sizes, finding all the material, including ink and unction, all for a pitiful eighteenpence, is one of those foreign inhumanities suffered by unprotected toil. The labor union should interfere in behalf of these underpaid victims of competition. Let them learn from the plumbers. "A naturalist has discovered that the snipe has a nerve which extends clear to the end of his bill. So has the plumber. Great are the provisions of nature!" Exit the muse commercial.

Enter the muse ethical. With a clear conscience may a minister of Christ buy, for delivery as his own production, the sermon of another, lithographed or otherwise? The expression for the morally right is a binomial. It consists of Intention plus Information. The latter is subject to marked variation, as, for instance, through change of time and longitude. At some things in one age God "winked," concerning which he later commands "all men everywhere to repent." During gross clerical ignorance the preachers might with propriety use the *Homiliarium*

or *Promptuaries*, prepared for them by Augustine and the fathers. In the first quarter of this century the English market warranted, not to say demanded, the issue of Simeon's twenty-one large volumes of sermons for the use of the clergy. But past history shows that when and where the preacher has shrunk to a priest, and the sermon must play second fiddle to the mass, mental sterility and sermon stealing invariably appear. To the writer lamented a young clergyman, fondly greeted by his flock as "Father," that he could feel no enthusiasm with another man's sermon, and instanced his dryness in using one of Pusey's on a previous Sabbath.

Theft of bread through hunger may be criminal, but the theft of sermons through laziness is abominable, a stench in the nostrils of God and man. If the preacher, called of God, out of his trained and assimilative mind and divinely warmed heart has nothing to say, American churchgoers will excuse him from hashing or mouthing the speech of another. A chair with the hearers is his.

Nor is this condition of matters sporadic and waning. In a standing column of "Works Wanted" this English catalogue calls for "Manuscript and Lithographed Sermons, any quantity." And while we have been pointing to the mote in our brother's eye, lo, a beam is in our own. An American house boasts a twenty years' business of this kind already, and patrons throughout the English-speaking world. With the statement, "We do not ask you to speculate upon the question of our honesty; *we require no money in advance*," it announces orations, essays, debates, and lectures at various prices. Sermons are offered "from fifty cents to $25." The notice ends: "All work we guarantee original, with the exception of low-priced sermons. Yours confidentially." Boycott and banish, not to say burn, the second-hand sermon shop!

University Park, Col. W. F. Steele.

ADEQUATE EPISCOPAL SUPERVISION IN SOUTHERN ASIA.

The object of this article is to merely outline the arguments which compel those most familiar with the work to believe that two additional Bishops should be set apart for India by the General Conference next May. Some of the reasons are:

1. The vastness of the field. The peninsula of Hindustan itself is as large as all the United States east of Utah, and contains nearly five times our population. But our field in southern Asia includes far more than the empire of India. It takes in all of Burma, all the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Sumatra, Java, and now the Philippine Islands. From Quetta, in Beloochistan—our northernmost outpost—to Manila is about eight thousand miles, and this mostly through densely populated territory, in nearly all of which the Church has mission work in full blast. The Bombay Conference alone occupies as much territory as was held by American Methodism when we had Bishops McKendree, George,

and Roberts to supervise the work. The Bengal Conference embraces as much territory as there is east of the Mississippi. The South India Conference takes in as much territory as is covered by the fifteen Conferences lying farthest to the Atlantic seaboard. One can travel from New York to Jerusalem in less time than Bishop Thoburn can go from one extreme of his field to the other, and he will travel all the way by steam at that. We have there a region "larger than all that part of the world which was open to the preaching of the Gospel at the beginning of the century. More than one fifth of the inhabitants of the globe wait to hear the Gospel from our lips." And over this vast stretch of country we are expecting one man to exercise vigilant and thorough supervision.

2. The multiplied interests to be cared for. Here, again, we can learn from the experience of early American Methodism. Episcopal supervision in those early days was that of aggressive evangelism and nothing more. Its sole problem was to keep the preacher abreast of the advancing tide of "the settlements." John Wesley provided our infant Church with two fully qualified superintendents or bishops in 1784, when there were only 83 preachers and 14,988 members. The results amply justified his action. The battle was one long victory, and this because for one reason: there were enough commanding officers on the field to force the fighing along the whole line. But in India our problems are many and intricate. Every form of Church work known in American Methodism is going forward, plus leper asylums and medical work. Our educational system is in full play, from primary schools in villages, where half-naked boys write with their fingers in the sand, up through high schools to the Christian college with courses leading to the bachelor's and master's degrees, and with a fully equipped theological school added. The interests of this work are many-sided, and call for wise leadership. We have also deaconess work in all its phases, and the multiplied interests of "the regular work" over such a vast area.

3. Peculiar difficulties confronting our work in that field. (*a*) The language difficulty. "Our preachers are witnessing for Christ in twenty-four different languages, not to speak of local or tribal dialects. It seems unaccountably hard to convince American audiences and readers that there are over forty languages in India as distinct in alphabet, grammar, literature, and history as are the languages of Europe. Each of these language areas presents a problem which in some of its features is different from that presented elsewhere. Local knowledge is a *sine qua non* of wise administration, but what chance has one man to acquire that local knowledge? (*b*) The presence of a large and fruitful work among the European and Anglo-Indians. God led William Taylor, one of the mightiest evangelists Methodism ever raised up, to come to India, and through him awakened thousands of English and Eurasian residents to their need of Christ and to their providential mission in that heathen

land. His converts were organized into Methodist Episcopal churches, and God has wonderfully blessed this work. It is self-supporting, but the Church must see that it is supplied with pastors and teachers, and that all its complex interests are safeguarded. This is a problem that meets us in no other mission field to the same extent, and one which in many ways not possible to set forth within the limits of this article complicates the task of administration. (*c*) The characteristics of our native ministry and membership. Executive ability is not the strong point in average oriental character. Any form of work, from grading a road to evangelizing a province, requires closer supervision than it would require here. The power of initiative is not yet developed as it will be after one or two generations of Christian and political liberty have done their work for a people whose lot has been that of a conquered race for eight centuries. Industry they have, devotion they have. But that instinct for admininistration which seems latent in our Anglo-Saxon blood is not in evidence. Hence supervision must be closer than with the same number of workers in England and America. (*d*) The District Conference and subcircuit system. In our work in southern Asia exhorters and local preachers do nine tenths of the preaching. These men hold their membership in the District Conference, which was devised for the peculiar difficulties met with in that mission field and came into vogue in America in some of its Indian features only. There all of these workers and all teachers in primary schools receive annual appointments at the hands of the presiding elder and a cabinet composed of the preachers in charge on the district. These men are appointed to circuits, and these are broken up into subcircuits, each having its pastor and list of appointments. For instance, the Bareilly District of the North India Conference, presided over by Dr. E. W. Parker, has twenty-one circuits. The smallest of these circuits is subdivided into seven subcircuits, and the largest into twenty-one. Each of these subcircuits has from five to twenty preaching places, the preachers being kept constantly on the move, preaching on the average once every day in the week and visiting incessantly from village to village. On the entire district there are two hundred and twenty-six workers under the control of the parent board alone. When we reflect that within this one district there is as much territory as is covered by several of our larger Conferences in the home field, we will begin to understand what episcopal supervision must mean in that field. The Moradabad circuit of the same district, having the same name, has subcircuits with preaching places in one hundred and sixteen cities and villages, and this is reported in the *Minutes* as but one circuit. How can a bishop wisely administer the interests of those Conferences without intimate knowledge of conditions in the smaller places, as well as in the strategic centers? How can he understand where these centers are without intitimate knowledge of each district and circuit?

(*d*) The marvelous success since 1888. The growth since Bishop

Thoburn's election has been phenomenal. No such growth has ever been seen in any mission field of the Church. This is said soberly, after eight years of peculiar opportunities for observation, and is supported by Bishop Foss, who, after an official inspection of the work within the peninsula of Hindustan, declares that the most astonishing report of rapid missionary progress known to him is in the *Minutes* of Central India Conference. He says: "Let us take the statistics of the year 1887, the year of the last official visitation from this country before my tour, made by Bishop Ninde, and compare them with those of the year I was there, 1898. In 1887 we had 3,305 probationers; eleven years later, 46,097. In 1887 we had 4,018 full members; now we have 31,866. The total number of our communicants then was 7,323; now we have 77,963. That is an increase of tenfold in eleven years. Then we had 96 churches; now we have 233. In 1887 we had 313 Sunday schools; now we have 2,485. Then we had 14,102 Sunday school scholars; now we have 83,225. And all this in eleven years! I soberly ask you if you can think of any figures beginning with thousands where there has been such a percentage of increase in any mission of which we have any knowledge, or in any part of any country where Methodism has ever been planted." But with this growth every candid mind will admit that the rate of progress cannot be maintained without increasing the number of executive officers on the field.

5. A regard for the health and life of Bishop Thoburn. It is but right that the Church should recognize his worth while he is yet with us. He is unquestionably one of the greatest living leaders in Protestant missionary work. But flesh and blood have limitations; and those most closely in touch with this modern apostle to the Gentiles know that he is carrying burdens which no man should be asked to bear. While the Church demands it he will stagger on, but must either see the work suffer untold harm or prematurely end his career. This is both unnecessary and impolitic. We need the counsels of such an experienced missionary warrior to help us plan and carry out the large campaigns with which we shall enter the new century. To deprive ourselves prematurely of his leadership will be poor economy.

The financial objection to more bishops was met by the suggestion of the Central Conference of India at its session in 1898: "In view of the fact that the increase of the missionary episcopacy involves additional burdens on the Missionary Society, and that there is no real necessity why the salaries of missionary bishops should be so disproportionate to the maximum salary of a foreign missionary, we express our conviction that the salaries of all missionary bishops to be elected in the future should be fixed at a substantially lower amount than is now appropriated." It should be added, in conclusion, that Bishop Thoburn has not had the most remote idea that this article has even been contemplated by the writer.

HOMER C. STUNTZ.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

A WORKING MINISTRY FOR 1900.

ONE capacity belongs to all periods and all social and intellectual conditions, and that is the capacity for hard work. It is the spirit of work that should characterize the Church at this time. We have had a long season of discussion. Indeed, talk has become chronic. There have been plans enough outlined within the past decade to occupy the next century were they all to be carried into practice. There have been enough organizations put in motion to convert the world, apparently, within a few years. Indeed, the leaders in some of these organizations predict the result in a brief period through their special activities, though to human view the time of the "restoration" seems very far off. The new century will, we think, be known as the practical age. Men are weary of theorizing. They have searched long for the truth, and now call for efforts that will mean success. The watchword of the year 1900 should therefore be "a working ministry." Such a ministry is not necessarily a talking ministry. It will not be given to long sermons or frequent exhortations. The working minister will preach to the point, and not exhort in a perfunctory manner or on inappropriate occasions. He will study the proper proportion between preaching services and pastoral work, and will govern his life accordingly. He will, of course, prepare himself to preach as if all depended upon it; he will plead with sinners with all the intensity of his soul. He will, however, always recognize the fact that sermons are but means to an end, and that the ablest sermon needs to be accompanied by persistent effort.

The ministry needed will not be known as "hustlers." This is a modern word, and forcible, if not elegant. We are told that they only can succeed who are all the time in the bustle of an aggressive activity. Such men are ever rushing; they keep things moving, and are never quiet, calm, or restful. Their methods provoke a kind of fervor, and many think a great deal is being done, when in reality the work is merely on the surface and the seed sown has no root. Perhaps one of the greatest foes to the progress of God's kingdom is the violence by which it is proposed to bring it to completion.

A working minister will be much at home among his own people. Such men are ever ready to heed the call of the sick or to pay a visit to the needy. In order to work at one's best the pastor needs to be fresh in mind and body. Even in the work of his parish he becomes weak and exhausted; but, so far as possible, the working minister husbands his mental and physical resources that he may employ them in the field he is appointed to cultivate. Freshness of health promotes a heartiness in one's manner that is very acceptable to the people.

In immediate connection with this is to be noted the fact that a working ministry is presumably to devote itself to the special work committed to it. Some persons are so talented and broad in their sympathies that they can do many things and do them well. Yet all are not thus gifted. . "Be a whole man to one thing at a time" is a safe rule in every department of life, and in no sphere more than the ministry. The fields are many and white to the harvest, and if each Christian minister for the year 1900 should cultivate his own field to its utmost capacity the closing year of the century would witness, with the blessing of the Holy Spirit, such results as are now scarcely conceivable.

MINISTERS IN THE GENERAL CONFERENCE.

THE functions of a minister of the Gospel are twofold: the one is to preach and to care for the individual church committed to him, and the other is to conserve the interests of the entire Church with which he is connected. While the first is fundamental and absolutely necessary, the second is important and must not be ignored. The functions of a Methodist Episcopal minister in relation to the general Church are mainly exercised in the Annual Conference and in the General Conference.

The work of the minister in the General Conference is performed in the committees and also in the general body, where the subjects which have passed through the committees are to be finally discussed and decided. It sometimes happens that those at home, looking over the records of the General Conference and observing that their representatives do not appear to have made many addresses, think they may have been negligent in their duties. This, however, is far from being a correct inference. Some of the most useful members of the General Conference, though they rarely speak in the body, are those who devote themselves to the work of the committees and formulate the legislation which the general body makes effective. As a rule, all the great changes of doctrine, polity, and administration are first considered in committees; and some of the best arguments given during the General Conference are heard in the committees, while many of the best addresses delivered on the floor are first, in outline at least, given in the committees.

The floor of the General Conference is, however, the arena where the practical debater is at a great advantage, and where previous experience in the body is of great service. The work moves forward with such rapidity, the changes in the subjects under consideration are so frequent, and the desire of many to speak is so constant that the trained debater is at a great advantage. He has become familiar with the parliamentary usages of the body. Its rules are not merely matters of memory, but are so familiar that he knows almost intuitively the precise motion to make and the exact time to introduce his resolution. He is also able to foresee the progress of events and to prepare in advance for emergencies which may arise. The qualities, then, that enter into a first-class

debater are quickness of perception, readiness in noting the point at issue, and promptness in seizing the salient features of the matter under consideration. . Sometimes, if he hesitate, his case is lost. Some movement will intervene. Some motion will be made which will take the subject from consideration before he has an opportunity to discuss it.

There are some motions in the General Conference that have to be carefully guarded. While rules of order are absolutely necessary in a deliberative body, yet they are often calculated to do injustice, especially to inexperienced members. Take, for example, the "previous question." It absolutely cuts off debate, and unless the subject is popular, or generally recognized as important, it is often moved, to the great grief of some whose favorite subject is, in their opinion, scarcely discussed. There are in every deliberative body those who make a specialty of thus moving the previous question, and who sometimes seriously annoy a minority who are anxious to discuss the matter under debate. A case occurred in the last General Conference. The discussion on the admission of women had gone on for several days. The only point before the Conference was the eligibility of the four women present who had been elected as lay delegates from their Annual Conferences. The bishops presiding gave large liberty to the discussion, and many speakers considered also the main question, whether women ought to be admitted. When the compromise measure came up for consideration the two questions were coupled together, namely, the resubmission of that question to the Annual Conferences and also the securing of the required two thirds by the General Conference in order to make the action of the Annual Conferences effective and final. Before the latter proposition, which was the central proposition, namely, whether women should be admitted to the General Conference, was at all discussed the previous question was ordered, and the whole body was shut out from the discussion of the fundamental question. It is true that the main question had been so fully discussed for the previous eight years that no new light could possibly be shed upon the subject; and yet there were those who desired to express their opinions on the precise issue involved when the vote was taken, who were by the ordering of the previous question deprived of an opportunity of explaining their vote.

Another motion which is embarrassing to the inexperienced member of the General Conference is that of "laying on the table." If a resolution before the body seems to be obnoxious to the majority, or even to the minority, a rapid movement to lay on the table often disposes of it before the mover has had time to have it adequately considered. Here, again, skill in getting the floor and the ability to employ parliamentary tactics often cause embarrassment to the unskilled parliamentarian. The only remedy for this consciousness of injustice on the part of many is to include among the rudiments of a ministerial education some training in the rules governing a deliberative body.

On the other hand, there is danger of the excessive application of

parliamentary ability. This excess has not only often wrought injustice, but has also seriously impaired the standing of the person who employs it. There are many occasions when strictest parliamentary usages might be employed but need not be. In matters that are apparently indifferent, when no great issues are involved, little irregularities of order should not be noticed. The constant raising of points of order, when no good can be effected thereby, even though correct, is a needless waste of time, and is frowned upon by the general body. The safe rule in this case, as in all others, is to use one's knowledge and skill only to reach the truth, and never with a view of securing a partisan advantage or the attainment of a personal triumph. All knowledge is valuable only as its aims are high and noble, and knowledge of parliamentary law and skill in its application constitute no exception.

Again, there is a usage employed in all deliberative bodies which seems to be overdone, namely, that which is technically designated as calling for the "ayes and noes." In the General Conference, on the application of one hundred members, this is done. What is the purpose of this calling? It may be answered that it is intended to put men on record, so that anyone who is critical can ascertain how they voted on some important issue. It is to be presumed that no one casts a vote on any great question which he is not perfectly willing to avow to anyone who is entitled to know, yet the only object that ought to be sought in a discussion is not to know who voted one way or another, but to secure the decision of the voters as to the point under consideration. When the votes are counted for and against any proposition this end is attained. Take, for example, the question of the admissibility of women to the General Conference. The important issue was whether two thirds favored their admission. No calling of the ayes and noes was needed. The count of voters on either side was sufficient.

Is there not, then, in the process a covert threat that if a person votes one way or another that action may damage him either in his reputation or in his future position? The attainment of precise results is the great object for which a parliamentary body exists, and anything calculated to destroy the absolute freedom of the voter should not be encouraged. There are, however, occasions when the calling for the ayes and noes is important. A minority may feel that a great injustice has been done them and that they are thereby put in a false position, and may desire to explain themselves to the world. The rights of a minority should be sacred in any deliberative assembly, and in no case should these rights be more regarded than when it refers to the Church of Christ.

The inference from all that has been said is that our young ministers should acquaint themselves particularly with the traditions and usages of the Church to which they belong; and that, in order to their highest usefulness, they should become familiar with the methods employed in deliberative bodies, and should thus prepare for the better service of the Church when called to deliberate in her highest ecclesiastical body.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE NEW CRITICISM.

It would be hard to conceive that greater harm could befall the Church of God in any age or clime than to have padlocks placed upon the lips of its ministry, so as to make sober, intelligent criticism of the Bible impossible or even difficult; for few things have ever impeded either mental or spiritual growth more than a blind adherence to tradition without reflection and inquiry. Passive indifference, arising from moral inertia and intellectual stagnation should always be deprecated; but an intelligent study of the word of God, such as would enable one to give a reason for the hope that is within him, should be encouraged at all times by every lover of Christ. Wherever the possibility of temperate criticism has ceased religious decay and moral relaxation have resulted.

On the other hand, reckless criticism, rash speculation, and disregard for holy things are to be regretted no less than blind subscription to articles of faith or systems of creeds. In criticism, as in all else, there are two extremes, and there is just as much danger of erring at one extreme as at the other; therefore, he who keeps near the center of the road, as far as possible from the precipices on either side, will be in a position to benefit men and to glorify God more than the extremist of either class.

The past few years have been years of unrest and agitation in more than one of the large evangelical bodies in the Protestant Church. And it may be asserted without fear of contradiction that wherever agitation arising from questions regarding the new criticism have been most pronounced the spiritual growth has been correspondingly small. The real cause of this spiritual decline or numerical decrease will be explained differently, depending largely upon individual sympathies. The time has come when the Church must look into these things. The superficial observer will overlook the real causes of these disturbances, and like the average correspondent of the secular press will refer to them in a semi-humorous manner as questions hardly worth the consideration of thoughtful men, and will sneeringly ask, like Pilate, "What is truth?" Or, like Gallio, he will regard it all as "a question of words and names," a mere matter of Jewish or other obsolete laws. Unfortunately, there are also too many, even inside our churches, who have no idea of the magnitude of the questions at issue. Many ministers pay next to no attention to the subject, virtually saying, "None of these things move me." And a still smaller number, though almost entirely ignorant of biblical criticism as taught by destructive critics, yet lose no opportunity in

lampooning the "narrow, old-fashioned theologian" and in proclaiming the benefits of untrammeled criticism.

There are several things the evangelical Churches should know concerning these latter-day utterances of the new school, whose disciples are variously known as "historical critics," "destructive critics," and "higher critics." One of the principal errors of this school is to regard all those who do not hold their views as unscholarly, and either hopelessly ignorant or willfully blind. Indeed, a professor in one of our schools said at a recent gathering that it would be difficult to find a competent orientalist under forty-five in the camp of the traditionalists. This, if true, would be very sad, for probably ninety-five per cent of Methodist ministers, whether under or above forty-five, have not yet accepted the teachings to which he referred. And what is true of the ministry in our Church is probably true of that in most of the so-called evangelical Churches of England and America. What a sad thing it is that there should be such a gulf between the great majority of evangelical preachers and the exact truth as it is in the new school! But granting the truth of the above assertion—which we are far from doing—what of that? When Dr. Tholuck was made professor at Halle, in 1826, it is said that scarcely any of the theological professors and students believed in the divinity of Christ. It was not long, however, till the veil of rationalism had been lifted and evangelical doctrines prevailed once more. All American scholars have not abandoned the old way. Indeed, the majority of the most illustrious names in American theology are still true to the ancient landmarks, and their writings show just as much logic and scientific culture as those of the new school. And why not? Does anyone think for a moment that orthodox theologians have the least desire to discard or even disparage the established conclusions of science or literary criticism? And another truth must also be emphasized, that the professed, self-styled biblical critic, whether in Germany or America, is not so infinitely removed from the average intelligent, well-educated minister of the Gospel that the latter cannot follow him into the niceties of historical criticism.

The next mistake of the newer critics is to regard their method as purely scientific and to represent their *dicta* to be the results of inductive reasoning, founded upon the solid rock of logic. Let him who doubts this statement turn to any cyclopedia or book which discusses pentateuchal criticism during the past one hundred years, or let him read the second chapter in *The Pentateuch, its Origin and its Structure*, by Bissell, or the third, fourth, and tenth chapters of a little volume by Lias, entitled *Principles of Biblical Criticism*. Or should Bissell and Lias be regarded as over forty-five years of age and too conservative, then let him read the article on Isaiah, by George Adam Smith, in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*. Even a cursory perusal of any of these will convince the most skeptical that the writings of the newer critics are not distinguished by an unswerving loyalty to scientific principles, but that

many of them possess very vivid imaginations. The newer criticism involuntarily reminds one of a kaleidoscope, changing at every move or turn. Take the Polychrome Bible now passing through the press. Who can call it scientific? Even as liberal a critic as A. B. Davidson in speaking of this work says that here "individual subjectivity operates uncontrolled." We pass the same verdict upon the latest great work of the new criticism, *The Encyclopædia Biblica*, edited by Cheyne. It is full of the wildest assertions and the most complacent assurance regarding many of the points not yet established. Let no one be deceived; the stamp of science cannot be honestly impressed upon everything written by this new school.

Again, the new criticism not only overestimates the validity of its conclusions, but it underestimates the great harm done by the promulgation of many an unestablished theory. Of late years it has been quite common to take for granted many an unproved hypothesis. This is especially true of the authorship of the books of the Old Testament. It certainly cannot be demonstrated with mathematical precision that Moses did not write the greater part of the Pentateuch, or that Daniel was not written during the Persian period. Yet the new school in speaking of Daniel and the Pentateuch speak of a late date as if they were giving us axiomatic truths. While there may be some interpolations in the Pentateuch and some portions of it may show the hand of a reviser, we are not willing to follow Wellhausen and his school and brand the whole book as unhistorical and uninspired, consisting mostly of myths and legends, the work of cunning priests and shrewd political prophets. As Bissell has well said, "The Scriptures, it is true, have a human side, but it has been left to these critics to charge upon not a few of its writers conscious trickery and imposition." Let the reader once for all dismiss the silly idea that the newer criticism concerns itself chiefly with dates and authorship. There are questions back of these, far-reaching in their influence, which our self-styled modern critic should squarely face. These criticisms sound innocent enough when clothed in language learned at the knees of pious mothers or set in the words of a consecrated minister filled with the Holy Ghost, but what of them when divested of such a disguise as they come from a rationalistic critic like Wellhausen or Meyer? What phase will they assume a generation hence in the hands of men brought up under the influence of the new school? Many of our readers will recall with unmixed pain the course of more than one young man who twenty years ago or more became saturated with rationalistic doctrines, lost his moorings, and drifted away. Where are these now?

It is not, then, a mere question of dates and authorship. These would be comparatively harmless. Whatever may be the exact creed of the average newer critic, it is evident that one of the chief reasons for the conclusion of this school is an effort to magnify the human at the expense of the divine element in the Bible. We are far from charging all

historical critics with denying the supernatural in the Old Testament, but is it not true that they all minimize the supernatural as much as possible? Do not the majority of them teach that the Old Testament is not what the orthodox Church regards it, a revelation from God, but rather a record of the opinions of men groping in the dark after truth, like ourselves? Do they not warn us against believing in the historical character of the early patriarchs? Are we not assured by them that the early portions of the Hebrew Scriptures are, at best, nothing but a collection of traditions, loosely put together in a distant post-Mosaic era? Abraham, we are told, may be nothing more than a mythical personage or a typical impersonation of the religious Israel. The story of Moses fares but little better. If now the early founders of Israel must be regarded as unhistorical, it naturally follows that the prophecies and miracles of the same ages must be classified as pure inventions of later days. The attitude of the German rationalists concerning these questions has been known for a long time to our readers. They deny the possibility of both miracles and prophecies. Alas, that such teaching should gradually creep into our evangelical bodies! Professor Cheyne, though a canon in the English Church, and having subscribed to articles and creeds, comes out squarely and declares that it is "no longer possible for the modern mind to believe in miracles."

Criticism which can resolve patriarchal history into a myth, the tabernacle and its service and minute laws into priestly devices and pious frauds invented for the purpose of enhancing the authority of the priestly class of the second temple, will not hesitate to place the Ten Commandments in the same category. Indeed, do not the advanced critics pronounce the Decalogue and the story of Sinai a fiction pure and simple, and therefore no more binding than any other system of law? Whoever can deny the supernatural origin of the Ten Commandments will find it comparatively easy to deny the superhuman in the Sermon on the Mount. He who will speak sneeringly of the Jewish sacrifices under the old dispensation will have little use for the atoning blood of Jesus Christ. Indeed, the atonement and regeneration play a very insignificant rôle in the preaching of the new criticism. The man who is intent upon eliminating the supernatural from the Old Testament will find no great difficulty in subjecting the New to a similar treatment. He who brands the Pentateuch as a composite mixture of the inventions of rival tendencies will, on turning to the New Testament, discourse eloquently about Pauline and Petrine tendencies and rival productions. May we not probably expect within the next few years a polychrome edition of the New Testament? Have we not already been informed by a learned colleague of Wellhausen at Göttingen that St. Paul is a myth invented by Christian priests of the Middle Ages? He who will reject the Old Testament passages universally regarded by the evangelical Church as Messianic is on the highway which has led others to the denial of the deity of Jesus the Christ. Indeed, is it not true that one of

the most evangelical bodies in America at this very time is troubled with the recent utterances of some of its theological professors, whose words are painfully suggestive of Unitarianism and thoroughly saturated with Ritschlian teaching, who boldly proclaim that they "know no Christ except the Jesus who taught three years in Palestine?" They know nothing of the Christ of St. Paul and the apostolic Church. Professor Kaftan says, "We find no traces of omnipotence or omniscience in him [Christ]." What a pity that Synods, Councils, Assemblies, and Conferences composed of men of more than ordinary intelligence should find it impossible, from recent books concerning Christ and the apostolic Church, to know whether or not the authors believe that our Lord was the same in essence with the Father! Teachers of religion are engaged in too serious business to be indulging in semiscientific quibbles, uttering oracular sentences the real meaning of which is not readily grasped. No one doubts the sincerity or questions the right of Unitarians and people of similar faiths to their views or to the expression of the same, but certainly there is a fitness in having the creed in reasonable harmony with the public teaching of men of whatever name.

But, lastly, we would emphasize the fact that the phrase "new criticism" is a misnomer, since the theories and views now passing under this name scarcely deserve the appellation. He who has read the history of rationalism in Europe and America will have no difficulty in recognizing the old skeleton in a modern garb. What Bishop Hurst, more than thirty years ago, said of Colenso may be repeated of more than one of our new critics in 1900, namely, "Those who are intimately acquainted with the treatment of the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua by the most unsparing of the German rationalists will at once see the resemblance between their views and those of Colenso." We may also add that whoever will read the English deists of the seventeenth century will find that Hobbes, Blount, and others held very similar views regarding Moses, miracles, prophecy, the supernatural in the Bible and revealed religion as Wellhausen, Graf, Parker, Cheyne, and others. A cursory reading of the history of doctrine will convince the investigator that our modern American biblical critic of this self-styled new school has but slender claim to originality. He is a mere echo of the more or less remote past. The most original thing about many of these old rationalistic theories is that they proceed unblushingly and unceremoniously from some of the citadels founded by orthodox believers to defend the faith.

The strongest objection to the new criticism is that to-day, as always, it paralyzes growth in experimental religion. The views of these critics have been known in Germany for a century, and the result has been anything but a vigorous spiritual life. And wherever these prevail there is a growing disbelief in the authority of the Bible, the necessity of the atonement, the divinity of Christ, and the efficacy of prayer. Unitarians have proclaimed the same truths in America for fifty years. Have conversions and revivals been numerous among them?

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

EMINENT LAY TESTIMONY TO MISSIONS.

THE testimony of scientists is that of men capable of calmly formed opinion, and must therefore be held in high esteem. The abundance of this class of evidence is the more surprising because these men have gone out of their way to render it. In almost every instance they have volunteered their statements unsolicited, and seemingly as if the efficiency of missions was among the unexpected discoveries they had made. We venture to give an illustration furnished by the distinguished German scientist Dr. Harburg. After a trip for scientific investigation made to Formosa, returning to Hamburg he said: "I have seen sixteen chapels (of one society) and people in them worshiping God. I have seen native preachers standing on platforms preaching the truths of Christianity. I never saw anything like it before. If people in Hamburg saw what I have seen they would contribute for foreign missions. If scientific skeptics had traveled with a missionary as I have, and witnessed what I have on this plain, they would assume a different attitude toward the heralds of the cross." Sir H. H. Johnston writes of the civilizing and sociological influence of missionary effort in his recent book, *British Central Africa*. He says: "Huge is the debt which philologists owe to the labors of British missionaries in Africa. By evangelists of our own nationality nearly two hundred African languages and dialects have been illustrated by grammars, dictionaries, vocabularies, and translations of the Bible. Many of these tongues were on the point of extinction, and have since become extinct, and we owe our knowledge of them simply to the missionary's intervention. Zoology, botany, and anthropology, and most of the other branches of scientific investigation have been enriched by the researches of missionaries, who have enjoyed unequaled opportunities of collecting in new districts. . . . For missionary enterprise in the future I see a great sphere of usefulness—work to be done in the service of civilization . . . which shall have for its object the careful education and kindly guardianship of struggling and backward peoples."

The testimony of diplomats and statesmen is equally positive. The Hon. John W. Foster—once Secretary of State at Washington, and who was deputed as minister of his government first to Spain and later at the court of Russia—made a tour through parts of eastern Asia, India, China, and Japan, and carefully inquired into the missionary work in those countries which he visited. After his return to America he volunteered to describe mission work as "the greatest movement for the integrity and well-being of the human race that has ever been known." United States Minister Conger, of Peking, China, in an address before the China Mission in Shanghai, September 9, 1899, also said: "Since coming to China I appreciate mission work infinitely more than I have

ever done before. Your work would be more appreciated at home if the people only knew the dangers and trials the missionaries undergo among these stubborn people, but it can never be thoroughly understood by those who are not thrown with that work. It takes great courage for a soldier to place his name on the muster roll in these days, but it requires an immeasurably larger amount of heroism and courage for you to do the work; and I wish to express my admiration of your devotion to humanity and God that I have witnessed since I came to this land. You would have larger support if people at home only knew the magnitude of the dangers to which you are exposed."

THE CIVILIZING CONTACT OF CHRISTIANITY WITH CHINA.

THE Rev. Arthur H. Smith is one of the most fundamental thinkers in the missionary ranks of China, and is eminent in the department of Chinese sociology. In a paper read before a missionary conference in North China, in August last, he outlines some things which Christianity can do for China. As to the Chinese family, Christianity can take better care of the boy and the girl. It will teach parents to govern their children and to train them—both of these being lost arts in the empire—and will connect the intellectual progress of the school with the home. He quotes from another that the typical Chinese mother is "an ignorant woman with babies," but insists that the typical woman is not the ideal Chinese woman, as the long list of educated women in many dynasties—a number too great to be ignored but too insignificant to be influential—clearly shows. Christianity will raise the status of the mothers. It will lead to a more rational selection of partners in married life. It will make no compromise with polygamy and concubinage. Christianity will introduce a new element into Chinese friendships, now largely based on the Confucian maxim, "Have no friends not equal to yourself." But China must have men of conscience and sterling character, for which she has been hitherto almost dependent on importation. She must also develop the quantity, till now unknown, of patriotism.

The author, Mr. Smith, has no thought that all this can be brought about in a day. Christianity, he nevertheless asserts, while it will produce certain definite though small results in a computable period of time, is of a nature adapted to produce indefinite similar results in unlimited time. Hence, he says, it is "eminently reasonable to point out that under no circumstances can it produce its full effects in less than three complete generations. By that time Christian heredity will have begun to operate. A clear conception of this fundamental truth would do much to abate the impatience alike of its promoters and its critics."

Mr. Smith is able to weigh all views not only with charity, but with judicial fairness. There is, however, a different sort of forecast more powerful to many minds. Thus he says: "It must be remembered that spiritual development, like that of races, is slow in its inception, but

once begun it takes little account of the rules of ratio and proportion. The intellectual, moral, and spiritual forces of Christianity are now far greater than they have ever been before. The world is visibly contracted. The life of the man of to-day is that of a 'condensed Methuselah.' The nineteenth century outranks the previous millennium. Great material forces are but types and handmaids of great spiritual forces which may be reinforced, multiplied—as they have been at certain periods of the past—to a degree at present little anticipated. . . . The forecast of effects like these is no longer the iridescent dream which it once appeared."

THE ECUMENICAL MISSIONARY CONFERENCE.

THE Churches of America will, before this is read, be fairly well advertised of the fact that a great Conference on Foreign Missions is proposed to be held in New York during the last ten days of April, 1900. It will be the third such conference—one having convened in London in 1888, and one in Liverpool ten years before that date—and will be the first of these great councils gathered in America. It will have a larger number of delegated members than either of the others, and will represent far more extended activities at home and on the foreign fields. The company itself will be a rare exhibit. Those constituting the body speak more languages and dialects than could have been spoken by any other assembly ever gathered on the globe.

It is anticipated that a wider range of discussion, ethnological, sociological, and geographical, will be followed than has marked any other gathering, not excepting any sessions of international, oriental, and other learned societies, while the whole will have as its center the past growth of the kingdom of God and the adjustment of agencies to its more rapid and permanent development in the future. One practical result must be a greater concentration of effort by the various agencies at work, as well as the multiplication of agencies on a vaster scale.

It is difficult to imagine how any well-informed Christian can fail to take interest in such an assembly. There are, to be sure, a great number of these "pan" councils, and the people are getting so accustomed to them that it is not easy to concentrate public interest in them; and most of them resolve themselves into great talking assemblies with but little result beyond increased information and some growth in fraternity, having none of them authority to direct action. But this conference, though it will not speak as having authority, has a deeper relation than others to the vitality of the kingdom of God, larger room for statecraft, and greater reason to expect the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; for it looks to the direct and immediate fulfillment of the one tremendous command of the ascending Lord, the Church's Founder and Master, to "teach all nations" the truths which he revealed, the principles which he enunciated, the ethical standards he erected, and the laws which he directed should govern human society.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

M. Lazarus. Beyond the limits of his race Lazarus has won recognition as a thinker. It is not strange that he should pass from a study of the psychology of nations to an historical investigation of the ethics of his own people, the Jews. Lazarus argues that the ethics of Judaism are, and have been from the beginning, unitary in principle; that, widely scattered in space and time as the ethical ideas of Judaism are, they have been always and everywhere harmonious. Perhaps even the most conservative of the critics of the Old Testament would question whether the ethical principles of the law are the same in essence as those of the prophets. Were we to accept the interpretation of the ethics of Judaism given us by Lazarus all our previous opinions would have to be renounced. For example, he claims that the way to salvation in this life and to happiness in the next is, according to the teaching of the rabbis, open to all men, and that no kinds of religious practice, whether of sacrifice or of temple, but only ethical purity, and the spirit of love are necessary thereto. That anyone acquainted with rabbinical teaching could make such an assertion is to be accounted for only on the ground that a partisan is able to blind himself to the real facts, and to make himself see what he desires. What he holds concerning the autonomy of the moral law is equally far from the truth. He affirms this autonomy in the most extreme form, thereby proving himself modern in the highest degree; but he strives to make it appear that in Judaism, also, the moral law is so conceived. He admits that the Jews thought of God as the lawgiver, but he affirms that this means only that God gave man reason for the guidance of his will. God is the lawgiver of the Jews in the sense that he determined man's nature, which in turn produced the actual moral law by an inner necessity of his being. It is strange Lazarus does not see that there can be no autonomy when there is no freedom. But it is stranger still that he should attempt to pass off this modern conception of the autonomy of the moral law as the substance of the teaching of the Old Testament concerning the origin of the ideal of purity. By so doing he not only robs the Old Testament of its doctrine of a personally present and communicative God, but proves himself incapable of distinguishing between the results of his own education and the facts in the history of thought.

T. Steinmann. The Moravians have once more (in 1897) considered the right of the instructors in their theological seminary at Gnadenfeld to investigate freely all the problems now before the theological world, and

have determined that that right shall be granted, on the ground that the Moravian Church stands or falls, not with any extrinsic doctrine, but alone with the doctrine and experience of Jesus Christ the Saviour of men. When the religious life is sound opinions may also be allowed to differ. As a result the seminary is producing some very able, because unconstrained, thinkers. Steinmann has recently issued a work entitled *Der Primat der Religion im menschlichen Geistesleben* (The Primacy of Religion in the Life of Man), Leipzig, F. Jansa, 1899. In this work Steinmann assumes that there are other domains in the life of man besides religion which are entitled to their claim of independence. That is, he admits, for instance, that morals need not be imperfect because disconnected from religion. He does not agree that ethical, scientific, and artistic activity and the like are fundamentally dependent upon religion for their existence; according to him they each and all exist independently of each other and of religion, though all have their common ground in the human spirit and though they mutually influence each other. But, though they are thus not dependent upon religion for their existence, he still holds that among the activities of the soul religion is the primate. This he undertakes to show by pointing out that the final result of all other activities is to lead to an attempt to rise above the world. But this is exactly what constitutes the essence of religion, which is defined as such a communion with God as leads to the turning away from this world. Yet, while these other activities lead to the same aspirations as those of religion, so far as our relations with this world are concerned they are not to be regarded as the equals of religion. Religion has three things in its favor which the others lack: First, it, more than any of the other spiritual activities of man, tends toward this elevation above the world. Second, while the other domains of human life point to a very indefinite transcendental goal, religion points to one that is exceedingly definite. Third, and chiefly, through this communion with God the soul comes, in religion, to a real relationship with the transcendental, while without religion it feels this transcendental goal to be distant and unattainable. The conclusion is that, though all other activities are independent of religion and naturally tend toward the same result as religion, religion is so much superior to all the others in this tendency as rightly to claim the primacy. While we cannot sanction all this there is much in it to command respect.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Christliche Ethik (Christian Ethics). By Julius Köstlin. Berlin, Reuther & Reichard, 1899. On account of increasing age Professor Köstlin retired some years ago from his active connection with the University of Halle, thereby giving himself opportunity to produce this great work. Though written in clear style, and systematically developed, it is not adapted to class use, but rather to private reading. It is written for scholars who are supposed to know the literature of the

subject, and so he gives little attention to other writers on the same or related themes. Nevertheless the book does not undertake to open new paths of research nor to introduce new conceptions of ethics. Like all Christian ethicists this author believes in the natural capabilities of man and in human sin. In order to the true ethical life there must be a renewal of the inner man in contrast to the natural life of sin. Nevertheless, he thinks that the natural conscience suggests the same duties as are suggested to us in the Christian system. Here we are obliged to note an exception. For, while it is a fact that Christianity never requires of us anything repulsive to the natural conscience—the word being here used in the sense of moral judgment—it is not true that the natural moral judgment reaches to the height of the Christian conception of human duty and relationships. In many instances Christianity completely reverses natural moral judgments, and at their best these have always needed the modifying influence of Christian instruction and feeling to bring man to his highest moral possibilities. In other words, Christianity not only furnishes the motive power necessary to the performance of our moral obligations, but alone in the light of Christianity can we see clearly what those obligations are. In both of these ways Christian ethics transcends natural ethics. A couple of other doubtful positions taken by the author are, first, that there is no distinction to be made between that which is required by the moral law and that which is permissible, and, second, that there can be no real instances of conflict of duties. There is one point which, because of its practical bearing upon the work of the ministry, we wish to specially emphasize. Köstlin holds that in the production of a spirit of repentance it is not sufficient to awaken in the hearer or reader admiration for the morally good; but that the moral law must be so presented as to make a stern and unconditional demand upon the conscience, for otherwise there can be no such consciousness of sin as will result in a thorough transformation. This is a profound psychological fact which those who preach the Gospel will do well to consider. It is comparatively easy to produce admiration of goodness. Most of the hardest sinners entertain such a sentiment, yet they go on in sin with comparatively easy consciences. For the vast majority active participation in the duties of the Christian life demands the sense of stern obligation.

Die Gleichnisreden Jesu. Erster Teil. Die Gleichnisreden Jesu im allgemeinen (2 neu bearbeitete Auflage). Zweiter Teil. Auslegung der Gleichnisreden der drei ersten Evangelien (The Parables of Jesus. Part I. The Parables of Jesus in General. Part II. Exegesis of the Parables of the First Three Evangelists). By Adolf Jülicher. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr, 1899. Although both parts of this treatise are mentioned this notice pertains only to the second. Jülicher has had the work in hand for many years, the first part having been published

in its first edition in 1886. The vast learning displayed gives evidence of the time the author took for the investigation of every phase of his subject; and, while not all of his conclusions will be accepted by every reader, little is left to be desired in point of completeness. Jülicher discusses the so-called parables under these classes: (1 Simple comparisons, of which he reckons twenty-seven or twenty-eight; (2) Genuine parables, of which there are twenty-one; and (3) Examples, of which he gives four. The author thinks that, because the person of Christ so seldom appears in these parabolic addresses, they point us so directly to the heavenly Father that we may trust the faithfulness of their reproduction, and that consequently we have here a clear light upon the character of the man Jesus and his doctrine and life. He does not claim, however, that we have in these addresses a complete system of the teachings of Jesus, although they contain valuable information. The author's work is so performed that on the basis of the parable we secure a good idea of Jesus in his environment and of the soil from which he drew the main presuppositions of his teaching. The work is written in the strictest scientific spirit. It does not search for double or hidden meanings, nor for unexpected allusions. It treats the words as they would be treated if a modern teacher had uttered them. Jülicher carries this to such an extent as to declare that many of the parables could not possibly have been spoken in the connections in which they are found in the gospels, and hence proceeds to interpret them independently of the context. A further effect of this method is seen in the fact that in some cases, where others find a complicated web of suggestion and profound and novel doctrine, Jülicher finds the simplest and most commonplace teachings. For example, he holds that the parable of the rich fool conveys the simple thought that it is folly to consider one's happiness secured by riches, while God, the arbiter of our destiny, is forgotten. The author has reduced the parable of the prodigal son to what he considers its proper limit, refusing to regard it as a complete, though brief, statement of the whole plan of salvation. However, we are compelled to believe that he has carried his principle of interpretation so far as to rob the parables in some instances of the richness which they had in the thought of Jesus when he uttered them. Hence he should not be followed too slavishly.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Haeckel's Latest Blunder. Those who have followed the utterances of the great scientist of Jena in reference to Christianity have felt that, if his ignorance of our faith could but be exposed to all who recognize his contributions to science, his baneful influence would be greatly neutralized. That a truly great scientist should allow himself to be so easily deceived as Haeckel is surpasses our comprehension. In a recently published new work (1899), in which he again portrays the monistic

philosophy, he exhibits either a deliberate purpose to misrepresent the facts of Christian history in several important particulars, or else a painful credulity in the following of those whom he accepts as his authorities. We can give but one instance. He claims that at the Council of Nice, in 325, it was desired to settle the question of the canon of the gospels, and that as there were upward of forty gospels from which to choose, and the bishops could not unite in a choice, they laid them all under the altar and prayed that the genuine ones might be miraculously found upon the altar at the close of the prayer, and that the Christian claim is that our present four gospels were thus miraculously chosen. This is a remarkable discovery. Prior to the year 200 the Church everywhere, as can be seen by reference to the writings of Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and others, had reached the conclusion that the only trustworthy gospels were our present four, and this conclusion was reached by no miraculous aid, but by the employment of historical, or so-called higher, criticism. Furthermore, the Council of Nice, as all the documents upon which we depend for information concerning it show, did not attempt to fix the canon, either of the gospels or any other New Testament documents. Yet, doubtless thousand of unbelievers will herald Haeckel's statements all over the world as a fact damaging to the origin of the Christian faith. Truly, great is the credulity of the unbelieving.

Changing Religious Conditions in Germany. Slowly, but surely, American and English religious ideas are making themselves felt in the land of religious conservatism and of theological radicalism. Total abstinence societies, Christian associations, and numerous evangelists all prove the correctness of our statement; for it was but recently that none of these were found, while now they are increasing in numbers with great rapidity, and all of them are due to English-speaking influences. That which will strike the reader most strangely is the existence of a society entitled "The Young People's Earnest Christianity Association." The peculiarity of the title is that it suggests a profession of religious earnestness on the part of its members, while with us it is taken for granted that young people who unite with our Epworth League or Christian Endeavor Society are in earnest. To those who are aware of the exceeding caution with which any display of religious feeling is exhibited by Germans, it will create surprise that the watchwords at the recent conference of these societies were, "Be filled with the Spirit," "Consecrate yourselves more fully to Jesus," "Be more earnest in prayer," and that the conference closed with a consecration service. All that must have struck the average German observer as bordering on the fanatical. May the Lord guide the good movement safely so that it shall not land in spiritual pride and pretence on the one side, nor on the other be hindered in its progress by the enormous conservatism of the German people.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE recently published letters of Robert Louis Stevenson give a valuable portrayal of his charming personality. For those who do not possess the two volumes—and they are probably many, since the books are of English publication—the review of these works published in the January number of the *London Quarterly* (London, England) will be of special attraction. Of Stevenson's cheeriness of life the reviewer writes: "Ennui was unknown to him. Each new face he saw, each new place he visited set interest and curiosity agog. He walked the world on tip-toe, straining that he might miss by the way no single sight that could afford food for his eager and insatiate appetite. He preached, and better still practiced, the gospel of cheerfulness as one of the first of human duties." Concerning the style of Stevenson the writer says: "Not many lovers of art or of literature will have the heart to urge any fault against the most lovable personality of our time; but, if any fault can be urged against Stevenson, it is that he is too subjective and self-conscious—that he cannot succeed in 'jumping off his own shadow.' He has himself told us that as a lad he endeavored to form a 'style' by laboriously imitating the work of this or that master. It was an unfortunate confession, and one that is responsible for much affected and stilted writing on the part of some of Stevenson's imitators, who were foolishly counseled to go and do likewise." Stevenson's fight with ill health and his "constant realization of the neighborhood of death" receive frequent allusion by the reviewer of these volumes. Death, in the novelist's estimate, was a "beneficent donor." Though a "superb lust of life" ever "surged in his veins," yet he recognized that "human life, human love, human friendship would be infinitely less beautiful but for him at whose touch beauty is supposed to wither." So that he once wrote, under the influence of this double sentiment, "I vote for old age and eighty years of retrospect. Yet, after all, I dare say a short shift and a new green grave are about as desirable." And—not to prolong quotation overmuch upon this disposition of Stevenson to speak of death—he writes to a correspondent upon the departure of the latter's father, within a few weeks of his own dying, as follows: "He is another of the landmarks gone. When it comes my own turn to lay my weapons down, I shall do so with thankfulness and fatigue; and, whatever be my destiny afterward, I shall be glad to lie down with my fathers in honor. It is human at least, if not divine. And these deaths make me think of it with an even greater readiness. Strange that you should be beginning a new life, when I, who am a little your junior, am thinking of the end of mine. But I have had hard lines;

I have been so long waiting for death, I have unwrapped my thoughts from about life so long that I have not a filament left to hold by. I have done my fiddling so long under Vesuvius that I have almost forgotten to play, and can only wait for the eruption and think it long of coming. Literally, no man has more wholly outlived life than I. And still it's good fun." So run these letters, with many charming glimpses of Stevenson's individuality. In fact, their chief value, in the estimate of the reviewer, is the light which they throw upon the man himself. "There are many memorable and beautiful passages; but, taken as a whole, their literary value is, in comparison with his published work, not great." Their larger worth is rather in their "revelations of the real Stevenson," whom the article elsewhere terms "the most lovable personality of our time."

After pointing out the defects of some phases of modern theology, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* (Oberlin, O.) for January, Professor H. M. Scott, D.D., concludes that "in the domain of theology the doctrine of the divine Christ and devotion to him seems to be the 'article of a standing or a falling Church;'" and likewise that "in the field of obedience and life the doctrine of missions at home and abroad appears to be the mark of a living or dying Church." The article is entitled "Modern Theology in its Relation to Personal Piety and Christian Work." The writer of the next paper is Professor T. W. Hunt, Ph.D., and his theme, "Edmund Spenser and the English Reformation." "As Wiclif and Caxton were reformers before the Reformation," he affirms, "Spenser was a reformer at the Reformation, and, next to the clergy and religious writers of the time, did a work second to no other toward the advancement of English Protestantism and Christian truth." The third article, by P. S. Moxom, D.D., discusses "Personal Righteousness." This, the author holds, involves "faith in God as the perfectly good and holy One;" "the recognition of man as the child of God, and as having, therefore, his proper ideal of character and conduct in God;" and "love to God and love to man." In "The Drama of Job," the Rev. C. H. Dickinson makes a literary study of this Old Testament book. His critique "starts from the conviction that the book is purely a drama, containing nothing which detracts from dramatic quality or weakens dramatic power; that its author, though thinker and seer, is a dramatic genius of the first order, both in intensity of passion and artistic skill; that this drama is, therefore, not a treatise in the form of a dialogue, nor an attempt at a speculative theodicy; and that the speculative elements of the book are introduced solely for their dramatic value." "My Time at Rugby (1869-1874)," by Henry Hayman, D.D., is the second paper upon this subject, and is a long narration of difficulties in the management of that institution. Why a tale so thoroughly personal is published in this weighty periodical is not apparent. In the sixth article W. C. Cochran treats of "Labor Legislation," and argues for the value of "general

laws which bear the test of constitutional analysis." The final article, by Washington Gladden, D.D., treats of "The Cure of Penury." By "penury" the author neither means "poverty," nor "pauperism," but "the poverty that is abject and effortless and apparently chronic; the poverty that is occasioned by, or that consists with, a spirit of dependence, with a willingness to live upon public or private charity." Severity, the author holds, is sometimes necessary, or—in his own phrase—"the surgeon's knife." This, however, should be the last resort. Kind ministration should be first tried—"to awaken the dormant self-respect, to spur the flagging purpose, to bring back the blush of shame to the cheek that has not for long worn that shade of crimson, to stir within the soul some expectation of a better life."

LITTLE relating to the great movements of the world seems omitted from the *Review of Reviews* (New York) for February. Besides its outline of current events it contains as illustrated articles, "Dwight L. Moody—A Character Sketch," by G. P. Morris; "A French View of the German Empire," by Pierre de Coubertin; "General Henry W. Lawton—A Sketch of his Long Service," by General O. O. Howard; and "Field Marshal Lord Roberts." In addition, W. T. Stead writes on "The Perilous Position of England," and C. A. Conant on "The Treasury and the Money Market." On the election of United States senators by the direct vote of the people the *Review* editorially says, "The Constitution of the United States ought to be amended, either to prescribe election of senators by direct vote, or else to make it permissible for the several States to adopt the popular method if they should so wish."

IN the *Methodist Review* of the Church South (Nashville, Tenn.) for January are found: 1. "The Struggles of Sidney Lanier," by Professor J. S. Bassett, Ph.D.; 2. "The Scientific Value of the Miracles of Christ," by James Campbell, D.D.; 3. "The Personal Life of Calhoun," by W. L. Miller; 4. "Romans VIII, 29," by Professor W. G. Williams, LL.D.; 5. "Heinrich Heine," by Professor E. W. Bowen, Ph.D.; 6. "The Preacher With or Without the Manuscript," by Rev. Robert Wilson, Ph.D.; 7. "The Bible and the Poets," by James Mudge, D.D.; 8. "Ethics—The Science of Duty," by J. J. Tigert, LL.D. The comprehensive editorial departments add to the attractions of this issue.

THE February number of the *Missionary Review of the World* is replete with articles of value. Its illustrated articles are "Dwight L. Moody, the Evangelist," by Dr. A. T. Pierson; "Chinese Turkestan and Its Inhabitants," by L. E. Högberg; "The Greenland Mission," by Rev. Paul de Schweinitz; and "Shosaburo Aoyama, Japanese, Christian, Gentleman," by R. E. Speer.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Foundations of the Christian Faith. By Rev. CHARLES W. RISHELL, Ph.D. 8vo, pp. 616. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $3.50.

This is volume ix of the Library of Biblical and Theological Literature projected years ago by Dr. George R. Crooks and Bishop Hurst, the previous volumes of that library being Harman's *Introduction*, Terry's *Hermeneutics*, Crooks and Hurst's *Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology*, Bennett's *Christian Archæology*, revised by Dr. Patton, Miley's *Systematic Theology*, and Hurst's *History of the Christian Church*. In the nine successive volumes the pledges made at the outset when this library was projected and announced have been faithfully kept. In each treatise the latest literature is recognized, searched, and its results embodied or discussed. Members of all evangelical denominations have regarded the undertaking with interest, and its successive issues with much favor. The series is to be further continued. This volume, by Professor Rishell of the School of Theology in Boston University, takes its place worthily in line with its predecessors. One of the striking features of the book is its union of comprehensiveness and brevity. It omits no important aspect of the assault upon Christianity, dealing in turn with the difficulties raised by philosophy, natural science, historical criticism, ethics, and modern attempts to establish a new religion. While it meets these objections it also deals adequately with the great positive facts of Christianity concerning man, God, and revelation. All these are topics in the treatment of which men are accustomed to write stout volumes, while here we find them brought together in one volume. This compression results in part from the terseness of statement which rigidly excludes all irrelevant matter and redundancy of words. But chiefly is it the consequence of the method employed in the development of the argument. This is characteristic in three ways: First, in beginning with that form of unbelief which is most distant from Christian faith and working its way through each succeeding form as it approaches nearer and nearer to Christianity, until, by the time the last form of unbelief has been refuted, the main points of the Christian position have been indirectly established, thus making a briefer treatment of the positive or direct evidences possible. Second, the separate topics discussed are so treated as to make each independent, and yet supplementary to each other. Third, the method of connecting each form of objection to Christianity with some able representative of the same, and of allowing him to state his own case in his own words, undoubtedly results in a great saving of space. From the

method results what all readers of the book have noticed, namely, its lucidity. The book is a whole and should be read from beginning to end in order to get the full force of the argument. Still the exact distribution of the matter under appropriate heads renders the study of special topics easy, especially if the index of topics is utilized. Again, the book is frank, modern, and moderate. There is no attempt to deny or hide the unpleasant truths which unbelievers employ against us; though in every case it is made clear that they do not touch the foundations of the faith. On the whole, the modern view of the Bible and of physical science is defended or at least allowed. Yet the golden mean is preserved between the extremes of concession and denial. The reader will find all foundational principles defended, though many points not fundamental are granted for argument's sake. One specific feature of the book is the place it gives to Jesus Christ. He is made the unimpeachable witness to the reality of miracle, without belief in which there can be no vital religion. He is the one Revealer, compared with whom all who went before or who have followed after are feeble lights, except as they became the mediums through whom his light is conveyed to us. He is found by experience to be the Saviour from sin and thus the demonstrator of the truth of his own teachings. His religious provisions perfectly satisfy the religious needs of men everywhere, and thus make it clear that he will forever lead the religious forces of the world. Professor Rishell is a scholarly definer and cautious defender of the faith. He walks about Zion to tell her towers, mark her bulwarks, and consider her palaces, with firm confidence and loyal devotion, unafraid of anything her enemies have done or can do, not fearing that any weapon formed against her can prosper. The book is a valuable addition to our "Library of Biblical and Theological Literature."

Christian Ethics. By WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Aberdeen. 12mo, pp. 146. New York, Chicago, and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

This is a plain and compact treatise from the author of *The Logic of Definition* and *Theism and Human Nature.* The preface speaks of the difficulty of compressing Christian Ethics into a few pages, and of the pitfalls of treatment that have proved disastrous to the unwary, two of which the author says he has especially tried to avoid, namely, (1) swamping Christian Ethics in Christian Theology, and (2) separating the two provinces so absolutely as to convey the impression that they have no relation to each other. In the topics handled he has also endeavored to respect the sense and law of proportion. The first general division is entitled "The Subject Defined," and discusses the meaning and originality of Christian Ethics, and Ethics and Religion. The second section, entitled "The Highest Good," treats of Happiness, the Strictness of Christian Morality, Consequences, and Rewards. The third section, on "Character and Its Development," speaks of Inward-

ness as the Test, Moral Progress, Faith and Hope, Humility, and Charity. The fourth section, headed "Practical Ethics," discusses the Results of Charity, Judging, and the Power of the Christian Ideal. The fifth and last section, entitled "The Mystery of Evil," gives most of its space to defining and defending Christian Optimism. After this follows an index of the subjects treated, the authors quoted, and the Scripture passages involved in the discussion. Christian ethics holds, as is noted in the closing section, that moral evil originates with man: "It is more than ignorance—more than a mere lack of knowledge or insight—and it does not, as many of the Greek philosophers maintained, arise from the soul's contact with the body, as if matter were, in its very nature, impure, and connection with it a disaster; which was Plato's view in the *Timæus*, and the common view of his successors, the Neo-Platonists. Indeed, so far did Plotinus carry his contempt for the body that he refused to have his picture taken lest there should be handed down to posterity the semblance of that which he so much despised. He also refused to speak of his birthplace or of his birth; regarding his sojourn in the body, with all its accompaniments, as a necessity to be deplored—a kind of disgrace, a curse, something to be ashamed of. Strict asceticism was the logical consequence of this doctrine; and he practiced it. Browning's view in his "Rabbi Ben Ezra," is much juster:

> To man propose this test—
> Thy body at its best,
> How far can that project thy soul on its lone way?
> . . . . . .
> Let us not always say,
> "Spite of this flesh to-day,
> I strove, made head, gained ground upon the whole!"
> As the bird wings and sings,
> Let us cry, "All good things
> Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more, now, than flesh helps soul."

The conclusion of the author's discussion is that "Chastened optimism is the reasonable and healthy attitude of the soul; while pessimism is essentially morbid, diseased, unhealthy—a nightmare, begotten of melancholy and fear. To the pessimist, Christianity says, 'Truly the light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun' (Eccles. xi, 7): 'If any man is in Christ he is a new creature; the old things are passed away; behold, they are become new' (2 Cor. v, 17): 'For, ye received not the spirit of bondage again unto fear; but ye received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father' (Rom. viii, 15); and then, going farther, it lifts the veil and discloses the final glory—the glory of God's accomplished end and purpose—in the vision of 'the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, made ready as a bride adorned for her husband' (Rev. xxi, 2). It is the vision of victory completed, when all things are 'made new'—of righteousness triumphant, and its dominion supreme; for, 'The

nations shall walk amid the light thereof; and the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it' (Rev. xxi, 24)."

The Christology of Jesus. Being his Teaching concerning Himself, according to the Synoptic Gospels. By the Rev. JAMES STALKER, M.A., D.D. 12mo, pp. 298. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The investigation of the story of Jesus is never finished. Dr. Stalker well writes that the present century has witnessed "the most intense study" of the details of our Lord's earthly life. "Archæology, the exploration of Palestine, the history of the century in which he was born, and many other subsidiary sciences," he declares, "have been pressed into the service; and the Son of man has been made to walk forth in breathing reality before the eyes of men, who have eagerly followed every step of his course from the manger to the cross. But under this close inspection of the records his words could not fail to attract attention. . . . At last the press begins to teem with this new burden; and in the next fifty years the books on the teaching of Jesus will probably be as numerous as in the last fifty have been those on his life." The importance of the Saviour's words Dr. Stalker finds to be lodged in themselves, in their contrast with the apostolic writings, and in their relation to dogma; and their external characteristics he discovers to be pregnancy and imaginativeness. "No other words ever uttered possess in the same degree the power of self-authentication. As a painter of the highest genius, like Raphael or Rubens, has a style of his own by which his work may be recognized, so the words of Jesus are full of peculiarities by which they can be identified." Confining his study to Christ's words as given in the synoptic gospels, Dr. Stalker traces, in successive chapters entitled "The Son of Man," "The Son of God," "The Messiah," "The Redeemer," and "The Judge," the origin and meaning of these designations as applied by Jesus to himself. The treatment is thus as simple as it is valuable. Seeking in every instance to learn the meaning of these separate appellations, the author has given such a long personal study to the phrases and has availed himself of the judgments of so many critical scholars that his resultant volume is rich in suggestion and authoritative in teaching. Without apparently aiming at profound scholarship, he has embodied his discussion in such altogether intelligible language that the ordinary reader will find satisfaction in the volume. It is Christian, Dr. Stalker writes in his closing chapter, to pray to the Son of God. "Even the heathen identified the early Christians by this mark, that they met to sing hymns to Jesus as God; and, in every century since, Christians have been the more distinguished by the same practice the more they have been Christian. Everyone remembers how the heart of Samuel Rutherford pours itself out to the 'sweet Lord Jesus;' but a cavalier like Jeremy Taylor prays directly to Christ with not a whit more of reserve. The finest hymns of Christendom are nothing but prayers to Christ clothed in the forms of poetry; and, in

these, every day, tens of thousands confide the secrets of their hearts to what they believe to be a comprehending and sympathetic ear. Does he hear these prayers? Does he know his worshipers? Is he acquainted with the griefs they lay before him, and with the raptures occasioned by his love? The very existence of Christianity depends on the answer given to this question; and nowhere is it answered more convincingly than in those sayings in which, by calling himself the Judge of men, Jesus claims to have a perfect acquaintance with the secrets of every human heart." Valuable appendices to the volume are entitled "Wendt's Untranslated Volume on the Teaching of Christ" and "The Book of Enoch." Dr. Stalker tells us in his Preface that for more than twenty years the teaching of Christ has been his favorite study. The invitation of the trustees of the Cunningham Lectures to him was the immediate occasion for his giving the partial results of these long meditations to the Christian world, and in the possession of these mature deliberations the Church may well be glad.

The Message of Christ to Manhood. 12mo, pp. 209. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

These are the William Belden Noble Lectures for 1898. They are as follows: "The Message of Christ to the Individual Man," by Professor A. V. G. Allen, of the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Mass.; "The Message of Christ to Human Society," by Professor Francis G. Peabody, of Harvard University; "The Message of Christ to the Will," by Dr. T. T. Munger, of New Haven, Conn.; "The Message of Christ to the Scholar," by President Hyde, of Bowdoin College; "The Message of Christ to the Inner Life," by Dr. Henry Van Dyke, of New York; and "The Message of Christ to the Family," by Bishop H. C. Potter, of New York. William Belden Noble, in whose memory the lectureship has been founded by his wife, was a young man of wealth and of beautiful character, who graduated at Harvard in 1885, and who died a few years after. The strongest religious influence that inspired his life was Phillips Brooks, and to help fill the world with the spirit of Christ as manifest in Phillips Brooks was his supreme desire. For years he struggled against failing health. Facing in his own experience the problem of human suffering and how to reconcile it with the divine goodness and love, he only clung more closely to God. His prayers for deliverance and for power to endure always culminated and rested in one petition, "*Make me conscious of thy presence.*" His one simple rule of obedience and faith was, "Do the best you know how, and leave results with God." The last year of his life was spent on a ranch in the distant West, in a valley surrounded by snow-peaks. The last words of his last letter to his wife were, "I live in the ever-present consciousness of my God, so near, so loving, so great." Soon after, the end came to him suddenly, out-of-doors, beside a clear, sparkling stream. The first of these lectures is a study and portraiture of Christlikeness as seen in Phillips Brooks

and William Belden Noble. Amid much that is quotable in this volume, the closing words of Dr. Munger's lectures tempt us irresistibly: "We have dwelt long enough on the maxim that occasions call out powers. It is but a half truth. It is powers that make occasions. The trained will creates a field for action wherever it is. Put conscience behind it, and the field is defined. Add a strong sense of humanity, and you have a man who cannot be held back from attacking any evil thing, nor from doing any good thing within his horizon. This is the need to-day in public life—not any vivid picturing of the evils; we know them well enough. The need is of hardened and tempered wills that can die but will not yield; wills so intervoven with conscience, and so tender with humanity, that the man is restless unless he is putting himself against the evils he sees, and with the good he craves. It is a splendid thing—this central faculty trained to its full, buttressed by intelligence, inspired by those angel qualities that are feet and wings to its purpose—conscience, love, humility—ready for any task that humanity lays before it; a will that can stand and stay with majority or minority, it matters not which, if it is on the side of right; but standing and never yielding. This is the victory that overcomes the world and saves the world—that makes the man and saves the man." The lectures of President Hyde and Dr. Van Dyke are fullest of quoted poetry; the latter speaks with a tongue of fire and burns with soul-kindling power.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

A Century of Science, and Other Essays. By JOHN FISKE. Crown 8vo, pp. 477. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, gilt top, $2.

There is no more remarkably fertile and, considering his subjects, surprisingly popular authorship in America to-day than that of Professor Fiske. The list of his works runs up to twenty-four volumes and is constantly growing. Whether it is as historian or as essayist that he most excels, his large public is puzzled to decide, for in both it enjoys a style which is scholarly without being pedantic and a genius for perspective and for orderly arrangement of facts which is truly artistic. The paper from which this volume takes its title reviews the most important scientific discoveries of the century and aims to bring out their broad psychological effect in all departments, and to show where we stand in the light thereof. Besides the title-essay there are thirteen others on a variety of subjects, four of them biographical on Sir Harry Vane, Francis Parkman, Edward Augustus Freeman, and Edward Livingston Youmans; two on "The Doctrine of Evolution" and "The Part Played by Infancy in the Evolution of Man;" two on "Cambridge as Village and City" and "A Harvest of Irish Folk-Lore." The essay entitled "Guessing at Half and Multiplying by Two" is a severe scoring of Joseph Cook for his methods as a champion of orthodoxy against science and scientific

men in his Monday Lectures, methods which provoked Asa Gray, one of the world's greatest naturalists, and soundly orthodox, to declare at once in print that such championship is something of which orthodoxy has no reason to feel proud. Professor Fiske says that the average notion of the doctrine of evolution possessed by Mr. Cook's audiences would no doubt seem to Darwin or Spencer something quite fearful and wonderful; and that Mr. Cook, playing with those crude notions, puts together a series of numbered propositions which remind us of "those interminable auction catalogues of Walt Whitman, which some of our British cousins, more ardent than discriminating, mistake for a truly American species of inspired verse." In Joseph Cook's lectures the author finds "little else but misrepresentations of facts, misconceptions of principles, and floods of tawdry rhetoric." The essay on "Origin of Liberal Thought in America" begins by noting the awakening effect of the discovery of America on the European mind: "The sudden and unprecedented widening of the environment soon set up a general fermentation of ideas. There was nothing accidental in Martin Luther's coming in the next generation after Columbus. Nor was it strange that in the following age the English mind, wrought to its highest tension under the combined influences of Renaissance, Reformation, and maritime adventure, should have put forth a literature the boldest and grandest that had ever appeared; that the era of Raleigh and Frobisher and the early Puritans should have seen even the highest mark of Greek achievement surpassed by Shakespeare. The gigantic revolution set on foot by Copernicus was already in full progress, the era of Descartes was just arriving, and the next century was to see modern scientific method receive its supreme illustration at the hands of Newton, while the principles of freedom in thought and speech were to find invincible champions in Milton and Locke." But in Spain the new spirit was repressed by "an ecclesiastical organization that had been growing in power since the Visigothic times. The higher intellectual life of Spain perished in the fires of the Inquisition; no Spanish Locke or Newton rose; and so lately as 1771 the University of Salamanca prohibited the teaching of the law of gravitation as discordant with revealed religion." From the British islands and the Netherlands there came to America the kind of public policy that allowed freedom of thought and research to take deep root and send up a thrifty and many-branched tree of liberty; while Roger Williams and William Penn laid down the principles of genuine toleration in the century which saw the beginnings of an English-speaking America. It seems that "by the constitutions of Pennsylvania and Tennessee no man can hold office unless he believes in God and a future state of rewards and punishments; in Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, the two Carolinas, and Maryland belief in God is required; and in Arkansas and Maryland a man who does not believe in God and a future state of retribution is deemed incompetent as a witness or juror." Of one gigantic personality the author writes: "Few figures in history

are more pathetic or more sublime than that of Jonathan Edwards in the lonely woodlands of Northampton and Stockbridge, a thinker for depth and acuteness surpassed by not many that have lived, a man with the soul of poet and prophet, wrestling with the most terrible problems that humanity has ever encountered, with more than the courage and candor of Augustine or Calvin, with all the lofty inspiration of Fichte or Novalis." Speaking of the disintegrating effect of Edwards's theories on the beliefs of the time, it is noted that by weakening the logical basis of infant baptism he gave hosts of converts to the Baptists, and by the use he made of his doctrine of the will he produced a reaction toward Arminianism which predisposed many persons to join in the wave of Methodism which soon swept over the country. In the deserved eulogy of Francis Parkman's heroic character, strong and beautiful life, and unsurpassed works, we read that there is no better illustration of the French critic's definition of a great life—"a thought conceived in youth, and realized in later years." John Fiske, who is no mean judge of the writers of history, says that of all American historians Parkman is the most deeply and peculiarly American, yet the broadest and most cosmopolitan. "The book which depicts at once the social life of the Stone Age (as surviving among the Red Indians) and the victory of the English political ideal over the ideal which France inherited from imperial Rome, is a book for all mankind and for all times. Strong in its individuality, and like to nothing else, it clearly belongs among the world's few masterpieces of the highest rank, along with the works of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Gibbon." "Never has historian grappled with another such epic theme, save when Herodotus told the story of Greece and Persia, or when Gibbon's pages resounded with the solemn tread of marshaled hosts through a thousand years of change." Speaking of Herbert Spencer's amazing capacity for imbibing and assimilating knowledge almost unconsciously, George H. Lewes said to Professor Fiske: "You can't account for it! It's his genius. Spencer has greater instinctive power of observation and assimilation than any man since Shakespeare, and he is like Shakespeare for hitting the bull's-eye every time he fires. As for Darwin and Huxley, we can follow their intellectual processes, but Spencer is above and beyond all; he is inspired!" Nevertheless we think it is widely acknowledged that Professor B. P. Bowne long ago showed that a considerable number of Spencer's intellectual shots went so far wide of the bull's-eye as to be outside the target. In his thirteenth essay Professor Fiske dissects and cremates the "Bacon-Shakespeare Folly," which, having started with attributing Shakespeare's works to Bacon, goes on to prove in the same way that Bacon's hand is visible in the writings of Greene, Marlowe, Shirley, Marston, Massinger, Middleton, and Webster; that he was the author of Montaigne's *Essays*, and Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*—and this notwithstanding Bacon had been dead more than fifty years when Bunyan's

immortal allegory was published ; and at last report the theory included *Robinson Crusoe* and the *Tale of a Tub* among Bacon's works. Our author remarks that Bacon begins to seem ubiquitous and everlasting, and that, "if things go on at this rate, we shall presently have a religious sect holding as its first article of faith that Francis Bacon created the heavens and the earth in six days, and rested on the seventh day." In the amusing essay on "Some Cranks and their Crotchets" the older alumni of Wesleyan University will enjoy Professor Fiske's description of Dr. Joseph Barratt, who "was no charlatan, but a learned naturalist, of solid and genuine scientific attainments, who came to be a little daft in his old age." A pupil of Cuvier, he became a practicing physician in Middletown, Conn., where for many years he was an amiable, quaint, and lovable figure. Geology and paleontology were his favorite departments of scientific investigation. The Portland sandstone quarries across the river gave him the theme of the monomania which overtook him about his sixtieth year. He claimed to have discovered in the Portland freestone the indisputable remains of an ancient human being with only three fingers, upon whom he bestowed the name of *Homo Tridactylus*, and from that start discoveries multiplied in the dear old man's brain. He could find them anywhere; he could pry up almost any paving stone and find on the under side the print where an elephant or some extinct monster sat down, or some equally interesting record of prehistoric incident or accident. His wrath was often provoked by the views of Dr. Edward Hitchcock of Amherst College, a celebrated student of fossil footprints. "Why, sir," he would exclaim, "Dr. Hitchcock is a perfect fool, sir! I can teach ten of him, sir!" When a very large bone found in one of the quarries was pronounced by Dr. Hitchcock to have belonged to an extinct batrachian, Dr. Barratt declared it the bone of a pachyderm. "Why, sir," said he, "it was their principal beast of burden—as big as a rhinoceros and as gentle as a lamb. The children of Homo Tridactylus used to play about his feet, sir, in perfect safety. I call him *Mega-ergaton docile*, the 'teachable great-worker.' Liddell and Scott give only the masculine, *ergates*, but for a beast of burden, sir, I prefer the neuter form. A gigantic pachyderm, sir ; and Dr. Hitchcock, sir, perfect fool, sir, says it was a bullfrog!" The body of this innocent and gentle, albeit opinionated and somewhat excitable, paleontologist rests in the beautiful Indian Hill cemetery back of Middletown, under an amorphous block of sandstone from the Portland quarries in which is imbedded a piece of fossil tree trunk, and which bears, with the incised record of name and dates, the simple legend, "The Testimony of the Rocks." Professor Fiske in several of his books has written with much force in confirmation of theism from scientific standpoints. Of the doctrine of evolution he writes: "It makes God our constant refuge and support, and Nature his true revelation; and when all its religious implications shall have been set forth, it will be seen to be the most potent ally that Christianity has ever had in elevating mankind."

Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett, 1845–1846. In two volumes. Crown 8vo, pp. 574, 569. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $5.

The faces of Mr. and Mrs. Browning as Gordigiana painted them are frontispieces for the two volumes, and facsimiles of their handwriting are given. An index facilitates reference. It is sober exact truth to say that these are the most remarkable love letters to be found in any literature. About that there is hardly room for dispute. But nearly every circle where they are known and mentioned is divided over the propriety of publishing them. Weeks before they appeared Mr. Alden said that if they told us anything they ought not to be published, and if they did not tell us something they were not worth publishing. Mr. R. H. Stoddard wrote: "Clearly the dead have no rights if they happen to be two such poets as Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and the elderly survivor of this attached pair leaves their mutual impassioned love letters undestroyed, for their only son to publish, and for the world to read! We have their verse, which is all we have a right to." There is no denying that in sensitive natures something winces at such an exposure of the inmost sanctities of affection to the gaping, inquisitive, rude, critical gaze of the public street. Love's holy of holies seems too sacred a place to be made a thoroughfare. This sense of the sacredness of these letters was expressed by a highly educated woman who said, "I read them in bed while convalescing, and instinctively, when I heard anyone coming, I hid them under the counterpane." But, with full understanding of that feeling, we are yet glad and grateful that they have been given to the world. Their publication in no way harms the lovers, Robert and Elizabeth, who have exchanged the terrestrial for the celestial which their love befits. It prolongs without end their idealizing usefulness on earth. It pedestals them forever as among the noblest of humankind. These utterances of their hearts bear a more universally comprehensible message to humanity than did the high, and often involved, flights of their poetry. A white-haired and much venerated Christian educator said of the Brownings as revealed in these letters, "That is what men and women will be in the millennial golden age." Reading them one murmurs to himself, "How beauteous mankind is! O, brave, good world, that hath such people in it!" It is not surprising that a critical, scholarly, sober-minded man should feel impelled to write to a familiar friend as follows: "I have gone through the eleven hundred pages of the Browning love letters with intense enjoyment. I know of nothing like them. It is the most lovely picture of ideal love. The privilege of looking in upon it is rare indeed. I want to tell everybody to seize the opportunity. The very holy of holies of marriage is disclosed to us, and to be admitted to the sacramental scene is a wonderful event. As letters they seem to me beyond all comparison, and surely the purest and most nearly adequate expression of holy love between man and woman. This union of

two rare natures was the most nobly beautiful thing of its kind anywhere revealed to us, unless it be that of John Fletcher and Mary Bosanquet. If you have not yet read them, I congratulate you on the bliss in prospect. I would like to talk them over with you. Hurrah for Browning! A great deal of new light is shed on the grand points of his character, and he comes out more gloriously than ever as a man of men, whom it does us a world of good to know." Over the love in these letters the stars did not, when they were written, seem propitious. That a man of his robust masculinity should be enamored of a seemingly confirmed invalid nearing middle life did not in itself promise great happiness or bear the look of wisdom. It was a marriage of minds and souls, made in heaven, by heaven, and for heaven. M. D. Conway tells us that Carlyle in early days liked to talk about Browning, and especially of Browning's love and marriage: how, in Sleeping Beauty fashion, his kiss had woke the poor pale lady from her sad sick bed into life and motherhood and joy; and how all this arose from Elizabeth Barrett likening Browning's poetry to a man cutting open a "nectarine." Mrs. Carlyle tried to correct him, as the fruit was a "pomegranate;" but Carlyle would have nothing to do with the pomegranate; a "nectarine" it was, whatever the printed poem said. But over the poor pale lady and her crescent love darkened the black frown of her unreasonable, if not semi-insane, father's forbidding, bitter, harsh, brutal, implacable displeasure, which never relented until his iron jaws were set in the grim rigidity of death. He would never speak to her, or look on her face, or open one of the letters she sent him through the years, pouring out in them appealingly her heart's tenderness. His was a heart of stone which nothing could melt. His stupid, obstinate, almost truculent arrogance toward two human beings who were in their natures exalted far above his comprehension, reminds one of Bimi, the orang-outang, on shipboard, roaring and banging against the bars of his cage, of whom the German said, "He haf too much Ego in his cosmos." These letters prove that the two persons whom he so savagely disapproved belonged to the blood-royal of spiritual humanity. Redolent as they are with the fragrance of a great all-embracing love on both sides, they are not monotonous or too honey-sweet for the reader, but opulent with varied interest. One critic writes that the outpouring of two such minds, provoking and reverberating each other on literary topics, would alone make the volumes fascinating. We do not know of anyone in heaven or on earth who is in the slightest degree harmed by the publication of these unparalleled volumes; we feel well assured that the Browning love letters are as a leaven of purity and sweetness and nobleness cast into our human world. In them humanity appears so near to the divine that we find ourselves looking up from them to the glory of a Presence before which the silent thought possessing us is "God is love." And we think of that great poem, "A Death in the Desert."

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Horace Bushnell, Preacher and Theologian. By THEODORE T. MUNGER. 12mo, pp. 421. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

This book attempts to present "that full picture of Bushnell as dealing with the theological questions of the day, which his greatness and his influence deserve;" it combines a biographical sketch with a critical analysis of his works. It avails itself of the materials found in *Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell*, published years ago by Harper & Brothers. The Connecticut Bushnells were of Huguenot descent and marked by the best qualities of that blood—mental alertness and religious sincerity. Bushnell was a child of Christian nurture in a home where religion was the atmosphere, and genial with the sunshine of a cheerful Arminian faith. Of his mother he wrote: "She was the only person I have known who never did an inconsiderate, imprudent, or anyway excessive thing that required to be afterward mended. In this attribute of discretion she rose to a kind of sublimity." Of his training in the home of his childhood he says: "How very close up to the gateway of God is every child brought who is trained to the consenting obedience of industry! There is nothing in those early days that I remember with more zest than that I did the full work of a man for at least five years before the manly age; this, too, under no eight-hour law of protective delicacy, but holding fast the astronomic ordinance in a service of from thirteen to fourteen hours." After being much tormented, while a tutor in Yale College, with difficulties about the Trinity, he cried out one day, to his fellow-tutors: "I am all at the four winds. But I'm glad I have a heart as well as a head. My heart wants the Father; my heart wants the Son; my heart wants the Holy Ghost—and one just as much as the other. My heart says the Bible has a Trinity for me, and I mean to hold by my heart. I am glad a man can do it when there is no other mooring." He gave his pupils two rules which ought to govern every man: "Be perfectly honest in forming all your opinions and principles of action;" "Never swerve in conduct from your honest convictions." He clinched these rules by adding, "If between the two you go over Niagara, go!" Discussing with Dr. Bartol the nature and work of Jesus, he says of the Unitarian view: "There is a want in it, a vital defect. My heart cries, More, more! It leaves God too far off, interposing between me and God a creature-being whom I want to worship more than him, and who really deserves my worship more than he; for surely it was more in him to die for me, a deeper love, than it was for the Father simply to let him." The best and warmest Unitarianism seemed very good as far as it went, but of it Bushnell said: "Well, this is not enough; it does not fill me; my Saviour is more, closer, vaster—God himself enshrined in this world history with me to sanctify both it and me, and be in it and me, the fullness of Him that filleth all." As between the old Calvinism and modern Unitarianism it was hard to hold back from joining the

latter. Bushnell saved himself by greatly mitigating an already modified Calvinism. Dwight, Taylor, Fitch, and Goodrich had made marked "improvements" on the grim old New England theology, and Bushnell advanced still further beyond the New Haven theologians, continuing the revolt against intolerable doctrines, the tough predestinationism and over-total depravity. Dr. Munger thinks the Unitarian protest against the tritheism and the pessimistic anthropology of the New England Calvinists was amply justified, and considers the question why Bushnell did not join the moderate Unitarians. It does not seem to us, any more than it did to Bushnell, that he belonged among the Unitarians, though of course the modern Unitarians were nearer to him than were the older Arians. Bushnell escaped tritheism by submerging the humanity of Jesus in his deity. Rejecting Grotius's "governmental theory" of the atonement, he anticipated Royce in setting forth the doctrine of a suffering deity—God actually suffering with and for men. But what Bushnell meant by "the moral view" of the atonement was not the "moral influence" of it, but an attempt to take the atonement out of the region of legalism and apply it to the moral realities of life itself. He tried to free the doctrine from its legal and mechanical slavery. The criticisms on Bushnell were evoked not by any denial of fundamental Christian doctrines, but by his venturing to express his faith in them under formulas and philosophic explanations somewhat different from those assumed to be canonical. The theological situation in which and upon which Bushnell worked is pictured thus by Dr. Munger: "The bequeathed contention of Edwards had already more than half yielded to Arminianism and modern thought. What would follow no man knew. Relief was needed at four points: First, from a revivalism that ignored the law of Christian growth; second, from a conception of the trinity bordering on tritheism; third, from a view of miracles that implied a suspension of natural law; and, fourth, from a theory of the atonement that had grown almost shadowy under 'improvements,' yet still failed to declare the law of human life." Bushnell believed in liberty and practiced charity, but of liberalism he had a dread, even of the very word. While not holding that every man who calls himself a liberal, or rejoices in the epithet, is therefore off the balance, he yet said that the man is on the way to be, and, holding on under that flag, certainly will be; that there is a losing element in the type of the word liberal; and that no man or denomination of men can make a flag of that word without being injured by it. He noted that Jesus, though so abundant and free in the charities of his life, had yet the more than human wisdom to assume no airs of liberalism. In this book we get not only Bushnell, in a sympathetic interpretation, but Munger, who sees all things from his own interesting and significant standpoint which is continually revealed. The great Hartford preacher was an active, original, and reconstructive thinker, a religious teacher of delicate spiritual insight, and a poet with large imaginative visions.

Reminiscences, 1819–1899. By JULIA WARD HOWE. Crown 8vo, pp. 465. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.50.

From memory and diary combined Mrs. Howe makes one of the most engaging of books. Its narratives and portraitures are from a range of eighty years of intercourse with a wide circle of notable persons at home and abroad. Dr. Howe said of his wife: "She is not a great reader, but she always studies." She calls herself "a student," and says that she chose for her motto, "I have followed the great masters with my heart." Her advice to busy women, full of household cares, is, "If you can command only fifteen or twenty minutes a day, read the Bible with the best commentaries, and daily a verse or two of the best poetry." Goethe's motto was, "Time is my inheritance, time is my estate." Over the fireplace in Rudyard Kipling's Vermont home are the reminding words, "The night cometh, in which no man can work;" and the night of death almost came to him when he was only thirty-four. All manner of sprightly and entertaining chat makes Mrs. Howe's reminiscences lively. Governor John A. Andrew was a Unitarian, but prized the truly devout spirits wherever he found them. He delighted in Father Taylor's Methodism; he used to say, "When I want to enjoy a good warm time I go to Brother Grimes's colored church." A quaint old physician of Mrs. Howe's childhood spoke of "a fellow who couldn't go straight in a ropewalk," and once exclaimed, "How brilliant is the light which streams through the fissure of a cracked brain!" Mrs. Jameson, being inquired of as to the comfort of her winter in Canada, replied: "As the Irishman said, I had everything that a pig could want." Mrs. Howe being invited to tea at Carlyle's house was set down to a repast of toast and a small dish of stewed fruit, which her dyspeptic host offered with the words, "Perhaps ye can eat some of this. I never eat these things myself." Reference being made to a proposed movement for the disestablishment of the Scottish Church, he blurted out, sarcastically, "That auld Kirk of Scotland! To think that a man like Johnny Graham should be able to wipe it out with a flirt of his pen!" Charles Sumner was mentioned, and Carlyle said, "O, yes; Mr. Sumner was a vera dull man, but he did not offend people, and he got on in society here." Comparing Sumner's eloquence with that of Wendell Phillips, Mrs. Howe says that the two were dissimilar in natural endowments. Phillips had a temperament of fire, while Sumner's was cold and sluggish. Phillips had a great gift of simplicity, and always made a bee line for the central point of interest in the theme. Sumner was recondite in language and elaborate in style, a student who abounded in quotations. In his senatorial days a satirical woman referred to him as "the moral flummery member from Massachusetts, quoting Tibullus." Mathematics always remained a sealed book to him, and his old Harvard professor once exclaimed, "Sumner, I can't whittle a mathematical idea small enough to get it into your brain!" Sumner was frequently the victim of rogues of various kinds. The members of his

family would say, "It is about time for Charles to have his pocket picked again." When, in the savage and dangerous [illegible], before the civil war, friends in Washington advised Senator Sumner that it would be wise for him to carry a pistol, his old mother said, "Why, he would only shoot himself with it." Wendell Phillips's orthodox faith was greatly valued among the antislavery workers. One day Theodore Parker was on the street arm in arm with Phillips. Edmund Quincy, seeing them, cried out, "Parker, don't you dare to pervert that man! We want him as he is!" Hegel's saying about his own lectures is quoted: "One only of my pupils understood me, and he misunderstood me." Secretary Chase asked Mrs. Howe what she thought of a life-size painting representing President Lincoln surrounded by the members of his cabinet. She replied that she thought the President's position rather awkward, and his legs out of proportion in their length. Chase laughed and said, "Mr. Lincoln's legs are so long that it would be difficult to exaggerate them." Mrs. Howe went with Governor and Mrs. Andrew and James Freeman Clarke to call on the President. After the party had taken leave and was well out of Mr. Lincoln's hearing, Clarke said, "We have seen it in his face; hopeless honesty; that is all." At that time few were praising him. Many were saying, "He a president, indeed! Why does he not do this, or that, or the other? Look how this war drags along! Look at our many defeats and rare victories!" The charitable believed he meant well. Governor Andrew's faith in him never wavered. Mrs. Howe tells how she came to write "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." It was first published in the *Atlantic Monthly* and gradually found its way to the camps, where the soldiers sung it to the already familiar tune of "John Brown's body." "As the war went on," she says, "it came to pass that Chaplain McCabe, newly released from Libby Prison, gave a public lecture in Washington, recounting some of his recent experiences. Among them was the following: He and the other Union prisoners occupied one large, comfortless room, in which the floor was their only bed. An official in charge of them told them one evening that the Union arms had just sustained a terrible defeat. While they sat together in great sorrow, the negro who waited on them whispered to one man that the officer had given them false information, and the Union army had, on the contrary, achieved an important victory. At this good news they all rejoiced, and presently made the walls ring with my 'Battle Hymn,' which they sang in chorus, Chaplain McCabe leading. The lecturer recited the poem with such effect that those present began to inquire, 'Who wrote this Battle Hymn?' It now became one of the leading lyrics of the war." Theodore Parker considered Emerson "not a philosopher, but a poet lacking the accomplishment of rhyme." The face of Mrs. Howe at seventy fronts the title-page of this bright book of memories. Many audiences have found it impressive to hear this gifted woman recite her own "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

Men and Things I Saw in Civil War Days. By JAMES F. RUSLING, A.M., LL.D., Brigadier General (by Brevet) United States Volunteers. 8vo, pp. 411. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & [illegible] Price, cloth, $2.50.

Reminiscences of personal experience in the War of the Rebellion, like those contained in the present volume, are of increasing value as the years go on. Whoever wore the blue in those stirring days and mixed in the battle should be heard with especial welcome—if, mayhap, he shall add from the point of a new perspective to a literature which cannot be too varied or too full. General Rusling has, therefore, earned the right to speak and to be heard. And especially is this seen to be the case when it is noted that many of the qualities which mark valuable history are discernible in his narrative. He has written, for instance—though the remark is almost superfluous—from the standpoint of an unusually intelligent witness. As a graduate of Dickinson College, a professor in the Williamsport seminary, and a practicing lawyer before the war, he was already a man well equipped for observation, rather than a callow youth for whom only superficial judgments were possible. As a participant, besides, in much that he describes, his words take on a directness and vigor that is only possible in an old soldier's story. Many important campaigns and individual battles receive treatment at his hand, while various of the chief leaders in the great struggle are depicted in a series of fascinating pen pictures. These leaders are Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, and Generals McClellan, Burnside, Hooker, Meade, Thomas, Sherman, Sheridan, and Grant—under all of whom the author served or with most of whom he had personal acquaintance, and whose striking characteristics he thus had exceptional opportunities for studying. The chapter devoted to Robert E. Lee is particularly magnanimous and fortunate, and the following chapters on "Campaigning and Soldiering," "A Great Quartermaster," "The Angel of the Third Corps," and "Some Army Letters" are as valuable as they are interesting. As the reminiscences of an eyewitness these war memories thus have—to repeat in other words what we have already intimated—a vivid, as well as a strong, quality. The scenes of other days are made alive, and one seems to hear again the roll of the drum and to see the glint of bayonets and of swords. For the new generation that has since come in its vigor upon the stage General Rusling has thus done a large service with his graphic pen. And to all its readers in future years the book will help to give an adequate idea of that momentous struggle which was waged to set a black race free.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Life of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G. By JENNIE M. BINGHAM. 12mo, pp. 289. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

No one can read this biography and not feel himself in the presence of a great life. The determination of the Earl to lead a philanthropic

career, the volume tells us, was formed when as a schoolboy of fourteen he was walking down Harrow Hill and saw some drunken men carrying the body of an associate to its burial. "A fellow-creature was about to be consigned to his grave with indignities to which not even a dog should be subjected. Young ---- exclaimed, 'Can this be permitted simply because the man was poor and friendless?' Before the sound of the drunken song had died away, he had faced the future of his life, and determined to make the cause of the poor his own." Under this incentive his long life, which closed at eighty-four, was uninterruptedly devoted to the interests of the needy. In greater details than may be quoted the author of the present sketch reviews the varied activities of the Earl, including his successful efforts to accomplish factory legislation, his labors to improve the condition of overworked children, his attention to ragged schools, his efforts to reclaim thieves, and his tender interest in the costers of London. For years he was President of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Having sacrificed all personal ambition for "fame and immortality," he used his high social position, his seat in Parliament, and his personal means only to further the causes of his suffering fellow-man, which so burdened his great heart. "The statute books showed," writes the author in conclusion, "that his service had benefited a population of two million and five hundred persons. He was the founder of a new order of nobility—an order of men who, inspired by his beautiful example and catching his sublime enthusiasm for the lessening of human suffering and for the salvation of humankind, are bringing in the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Is it too much to say that he was the greatest man England has ever produced?" For younger readers particularly the volume tells a rare story of humble faith in Christ and of consecrated usefulness, and none will read it without a new inspiration to noble service.

Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1792. Reconstructed by Rev. THOMAS BENJAMIN NEELY, A.M., D.D., Ph.D., LL.D., author of "The Governing Conference in Methodism," "The Evolution of Episcopacy and Organic Methodism," "Young Workers in the Church," "The Church Lyceum," "The Parliamentarian," "Parliamentary Practice," etc. Pamphlet, pp. 55. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts and Jennings. Price, paper, 25 cents; sheep, 75 cents.

This pamphlet is of value to our Church in general, and of particular interest to all who care for the early history of the denomination. Dr. Neely's preface explains the origin and purpose of the pamphlet: "The attention of the General Conference of 1892 was called to the fact that the Journal of the General Conference of 1792 had never been published, and that the manuscript Minutes were not known to exist. The Journals of all the succeeding General Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America had been published in a uniform size, and it was deemed important that the Journal of the first Quadrennial General Conference, which was held in 1792, should, as far as possible, be reconstructed. The General Conference of 1892 therefore di-

rected the Western Book Agents to see that the work was done. They in turn committed the duty of collating and restoring to the writer. This work required a painstaking search among the scattered literature of the time, such as biographies, autobiographies, histories, private journals, and other sources of information belonging to that period. As the most of the transactions of that General Conference were incorporated in the Book of Discipline for 1792, the work also required a comparison of every paragraph, word, and letter of the Discipline of that year with its immediate predecessor, the Discipline of the year 1791. In this way, from contemporary writings, from contemporaries who later wrote their recollections of the General Conference of 1792, and more particularly from a comparison of the two above-mentioned Books of Discipline, we have been able to present a reproduction of the doings of the General Conference of 1792, which, made up from these reliable sources, we believe will be found accurate, and will thus complete the series of Journals of the General Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church." It is bound in sheep for the benefit of those who may wish to complete their set of General Conference Journals.

Individuality, or the Apostolic Twelve Before and After Pentecost. By Rev. J. L. Sooy, D.D., author of *Bible Talks with Children* and *Bible Studies for the Home*. 12mo, pp. 303. Cincinnati: Curts and Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, $1.

The great truth of individuality, which the author of this volume ably sets forth in his opening chapter, had its marked illustration in the case of the first disciples. "Our Lord chose the twelve possessing different temperaments. He did it purposely. He did it because the leading characteristics of the Gospel were to be exhibited in these twelve men; they were to be the representatives and helpers of all the diverse and many-colored temperaments which hereafter should be found in the Church. . . . But when the results are before us, no one could venture to pronounce which of the twelve was the most fitted for the grand work Christ gave them all to do. Each was the best for his own work." With this position as a starting point Dr. Sooy divides the twelve into four groups, whose keywords are respectively "impulse," "affection," "intellect," and "administrative ability." To the first group belong Simon Peter, Andrew, and James (son of Zebedee); to the second, John, Philip, and Bartholomew (Nathanael); to the third, Thomas (Didymus), Matthew (Levi), and James (son of Alphæus); to the fourth, Lebbæus (Thaddæus, Judas), Simon (Canaanite, Zelotes), and Judas Iscariot. Following this division—which may be arbitrary, and yet is one to which the author is fully entitled—the book reviews the personal characteristics of the first disciples and includes a general consideration of the qualities of later discipleship which were typified in the original twelve. The volume is able in its construction, and cannot fail to be instructive to those who are ambitious for high Christian living.

METHODIST REVIEW.

MAY, 1900.

ART. I.—THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL.

OF the myriad trees that fill the forests few are tall or straight enough to be chosen to hold up the wires through which flashes the subtle fire that carries with it the thoughts of men. So, among the millions of men, there are but a few elect souls so lofty and so true that they can pass forward from generation to generation the flaming torch of truth or the mighty currents of spiritual energy. Tallest of these, and straightest, stands the apostle to the Gentiles. It would be difficult to name another who has so powerfully influenced the thinking of the modern world. Perhaps not even Plato has been so potent. But Plato is a vanishing force, while the ideas of Paul, like the person of his Master, grow in their grasp upon the minds of men. Just as every age, spiritually earnest and ethically alive, sounds the watchword "Back to Jesus!" so has every awakening of reflective Christian thought been a fresh return to the ideas of Paul. Augustine, Aquinas, and Luther alike base their systems in his teaching. Our own critical age, if happily less disposed to system-building, has more closely realized his life and thought as the historic method is slowly recovering for us the real Paul, unobscured by the dogmatic reflection which has perhaps as much darkened as developed his ideas.

Our chief difficulty in understanding the Pauline theology is that only with great care can we keep Paul's ideas from being confused with our Paulinism, whether it be that of the dogmatic systems or that of the popular theology. Most of us interpret so private and personal a fact as our own Chris-

tian experience by his doctrines of grace, which have entered the current evangelical teaching not as in a free solution, the elements of which might be easily precipitated, but as in a chemical compound difficult of analysis. Only by the most rigid use of critical methods and the most careful application of the grammatico-historical exegesis can we reduce to a minimum this error of a personal and dogmatic equation and secure even an approximately scientific result. It might, indeed, be a task of no great difficulty to account for nearly every element in the external form of the Pauline theology. His facile mind had not been uninfluenced by the all-pervading atmosphere of Greek culture which was powerfully permeating Jewish thought, especially by way of Alexandria. He was probably well acquainted with the Wisdom literature, so much superior in its ethical enthusiasm to the later Jewish legalism. But, above all, he was "a Hebrew of the Hebrews." The current synagogue theology in its severest form, that of strict and extreme Pharisaism, had entered into the fiber of his mental and moral being. While he has a Greek passion for ultimate principles and logical coherence, the style of his thinking and reasoning everywhere reveals the rabbinist. He was saturated with the Old Testament and the rabbinical interpretations of it. He seems to have easily accepted the main body of extra-canonical Jewish tradition, not excluding the legends of the Haggadah. A superficial study might imagine that it had thus accounted for Paul, when it had traced his philosophic framework to Plato, his anthropology and transcendental ethics to the Book of Wisdom, and his dogmatic beliefs to the synagogue theology. These things certainly do persist in the Pauline teaching, and determine its form. But that is all. Its content is something entirely new and original. All these constituents of his teaching are but dead materials which are vitalized and organized by a new principle that is at once truth and life. The Pauline theology is the outgrowth of the Pauline experience. The teaching of the great apostle is not so much objective doctrine as an assertion of the facts of his religious

consciousness. It is not in the logic of Paul, however powerful, nor in his learning, however extensive, that we are to look for the vitality and originality of his theology, but in the psychological element. His gospel was given to him "by the revelation of Jesus Christ"—a revelation which was personal and inward in its character. His theology is far less an organized system of thought than it is an immediate appeal to reality. The conversion of Paul will furnish us the key to the theology of Paul.

The chief obstacles in the way of a satisfactory picture of the conversion of St. Paul lie partially in the extreme meagerness and uncertainty of the external facts, but chiefly in the necessary condition that history, when it enters the world of psychic phenomena, soon finds an impassable limit. The realm of religious feeling is not in itself a subject of strictly scientific inquiry. It is not, therefore, surprising that, in the three narrations of the external circumstances connected with the conversion related in the Acts of the Apostles, we find considerable differences in their statements. The variants in the accounts, while by no means sufficient to cast doubt on the central fact itself, and certainly not of a kind to suggest a mythopœic process behind the narrations, are something more than "mere subordinate adjuncts," as they have been called. They do make it difficult to determine what was actually seen and heard. The general historical character of the Acts of the Apostles is not in question. The historicity of the book and its authorship as a whole by the writer of the third gospel must be maintained. Yet, conceding the general proposition that Luke worked mainly from original sources and is generally credible, account must be taken of his artistic temperament. No writer of the New Testament is so possessed of subjective literary motives, not always easy of comprehension, but always easy of recognition. In this respect he shares with Thucydides the modernity of a Froude or a Macaulay.

The confusion of the narrative comes most probably wholly from the subject matter. The really great moments

of history and of life are rarely well reported. They are so big with spiritual meanings and the ideal side of the phenomena so overmasters its material elements that for one supreme moment spirit is lord of life and all outward things are plastic to the touch of the divine revealing.

> Lo, if some pen should write upon your rafter
> "*Mene*" and "*Mene*" in the folds of flame,
> Think you could any memories thereafter
> Wholly retrace the couplet as it came?
>
> Lo, if some strange intelligible thunder
> Sang to the earth the secret of a star,
> Scarce could ye catch, for terror or for wonder,
> Shreds of the story that was pealed so far.
>
> Scarcely I catch the words of His revealing;
> Hardly I hear him, dimly understand;
> Only the Power that is within me pealing
> Lives on my lips and beckons to my hand.

On the subjective side we are less in doubt. Never did a soul so disclose its innermost to the gaze of his fellows. His experience as a Pharisee under the discipline of the law, and as a Christian in conscious union with the risen Lord, are pictured with the utmost vividness and reality. His writings are less doctrinal treatises than dramatic monologues, full of autobiographic materials and alive with the most subtle psychological touches. While we may not neglect the external historic facts furnished by Luke, it is Paul himself who chiefly furnishes the materials for the story of his conversion which it is here attempted to reconstruct.

Saul, a Hebrew of the tribe of Benjamin and bearing the name of its greatest hero, born in the brilliant commercial and intellectual city of Tarsus in Cilicia, was the descendant of more than one generation of strict Pharisees. A Hellenist by birth, he seems to have been very little affected in a direct way by Greek culture, nor even to have acquired that more liberal attitude toward the law so common among Hellenistic Jews. Had either his parentage or character per-

mitted such an attitude, it was wholly prevented by his being brought to Jerusalem in early youth, and there being educated in the rabbinical school of Gamaliel, the grandson and successor of the famous Hillel. As to his proficiency as a student and servant of the law, he himself asserts that he was peerless among those of his age, and that he strictly observed its minutest requirements. But from the very beginning there was an inchoate Christianity in his Pharisaism. His was no conventional conscience, the slave of tradition and religious environment. His obedience to law was the fruit of a hunger for righteousness worthy of the beatitude spoken by Jesus. There was not the slightest touch of frivolity in his nature. His moral processes were not vitiated by insincerity and unreality. His soul was not seared by sensuality, nor the fountain of his feelings frozen by formalism. Very early in his spiritual history he had by himself discovered a part of the secret of Jesus, the spirituality of the law and the consequent inwardness of both sin and righteousness. Among the ten great words of Sinai he had found one, "Thou shalt not covet," which laid its measuring line not upon the outward act, but upon the inward state. As a child he had lived a free and joyous life, unvexed by sin and unslain by the condemning sword of law. This paradisaic state could not and did not survive the coming of the law. With the first dawning of the divine command and the awakening of the moral consciousness came the experience of sin and its sentence of death. Every fresh realization of the depth and breadth of God's requirement in the law only brought into sharper definition the slumbering desires of his animal and earthly nature. The perfect law of God thus issues in failure, a defect which indeed comes from the human side, but a defect which is incurable. He who had hopes of the Messianic life through a righteousness based upon obedience to the law finds that righteousness is an unattainable aim through the frustrating power of a world of sin and death in his own nature. The law is "weak through the flesh." We can see, from our point of view, that if the law failed in Paul's case, it had

failed altogether. But to him the failure was not of the law; he could not, would not, consent that it be less spiritual, holy, just, and good. It is Paul who has failed, because of inward sin. Afterward he came to see that the law is God's instrument of condemnation, and that it exhausts itself in that function; it is only the dark background for the glorious portrayal of the grace of the Gospel. At present he is bitterly conscious of the inward struggle between that moral reason that approves the law, and even rejoices in its beauty, and the power of sinful desire which makes it impossible to realize its loveliness in life.

The conviction is almost overpowering that had Saul met Jesus during his earthly ministry, his spiritual history might have been very different. He was in every way like that young man that Jesus loved, except that we cannot conceive of Saul shrinking from any sacrifice that led to righteousness and life. He could not have failed to recognize in the Master an enthusiasm for righteousness greater even than his own, while Jesus could have taught him that the spirituality of the law, so far from being a despair, is a hope, and that new motive only is needed, that motive which is love to the point of sacrifice, and that it is the slavery of an external code, multiplying itself constantly in ever-increasing outward requirement, which is burden to the heart and paralysis to the will. It is all but certain that Saul never met Jesus. The events of the human life of our Lord and the teachings of his earthly ministry form no part of the interpretation of the Gospel peculiar to Paul. And so he lived on, conscious of inward strife and fruitlessly striving to conform to an impossible ideal. He is well aware that his fellow-religionists are as far as himself, nay, even farther, from realizing true righteousness. His heart wearily echoes the teaching of the Book of Wisdom, that "the corruptible body presseth down the soul." Besides the inner struggle, so logical a mind as that of Saul could not fail to see the barrier raised by the law to the consummation of that Jewish universalism which had flamed out so splendidly in the midst of the disillusionment of the exile

and postexilic periods. With Pharisaic zeal for proselytism, with an intellectual curiosity which could not fail to be profoundly interested in the fate of the Gentile world, and with that passion for universals which could allow neither thought nor history to rest in an unresolved dualism, he was as one predestined to a mission to the heathen world.

Such were the mental antecedents and such the temper of soul with which Saul came into collision with the new sect soon to be known by the name of "Christian." It does not seem likely that he either heard or was greatly influenced by the Jewish Christianity of James and the Jerusalem Church. If he did he probably saw the logical implications of their teachings more clearly than they did themselves. He could not fail to see that the doctrine of a crucified and risen Messiah involved more than the creation of a new Jewish sect, with a more zealous devotion to the law than that of the Pharisees themselves. The conception of a crucified Messiah who has suffered rejection at the hands of the chosen nation would involve from Paul's standpoint, as we shall see, the absolute nullification of the law. Some glimpse of this seems to have come to the minds of certain Hellenists who had accepted the new faith. In language, possibly cautiously veiled, they had intimated the passing of the temple and the changing of customs. One of these, Stephen, stands as the exponent of a freer interpretation of the philosophy of Jewish history than the apostolic school could have yet reached. The disputation raged fiercely in the Hellenistic synagogues in Jerusalem, with one of which, the Cilician, Saul was probably connected. He must have felt the force of Stephen's main contention for the varying character of the divine dispensations and the constant obstinacy of the nation with regard to each new disclosure of the divine will. There must have been a peculiar sting in the words which reflected dimly the bitter experience of his own soul, "Who have received the law by the disposition of angels, and have not kept it." In the narrative of the trial and execution of Stephen there are subjective touches which betray

Saul as authority. Some one in the council chamber saw a strange solar splendor on the face of the accused heretic, and heard his dying claim of a theophany and a vision of the ascended Lord. Who could it have been but that Saul who was recognized as foremost in the prosecution by the act of the witnesses in laying their garments at his feet, and who was "consenting to his death"—a phrase whose subjective character reveals him as its only authority?

The grounds upon which Saul became a persecutor of the new faith have been much discussed, and as generally misunderstood. If he had such an experience of the strength of sin and of his moral inability to secure righteousness by the law, why should he have persecuted those who insisted that they had found righteousness by another way, namely, faith? The Jerusalem Church had not broken with the Mosaic code; they were still devout Jews, even to the point of being "zealots for the law." If the point of contention between the Jewish hierarchy and the new society had been simply the validity of a new kind of righteousness in excess of devout legal observance, the persecuting attitude of such a man as Saul must remain inexplicable. We must find grounds more relative. The first persecution had as its reason and motive the abhorrence of the Jewish mind for the idea of a suffering and crucified Messiah who had suffered rejection at the hands of the chosen nation. The identification of the suffering Servant of Jehovah, delineated in the great prophecies of the restoration, with the Messiah, the conquering hero-King of later Jewish thought, is a Christian and not a Jewish interpretation. Jesus had spoken words which pointed to such an interpretation, and we find it already placed in the mouth of Philip the evangelist, one of the almoners chosen at the same time with Stephen. To the Judaism of the first century such an identification could be nothing less than an abomination. A Messiah who dies rejected by the chosen nation, whose very manner of death involved legal defilement, is a stumbling-block, an offense. The law itself has pronounced the *kherem*, the anathema, against such: "Cursed is everyone that hang-

eth on a tree." Jesus is accursed, yea, and they, too, are accursed who by baptism into his name have identified themselves with him and his pollution. From the standpoint of strict Pharisaism the followers of Jesus, however zealous they may seem for the law, are lawbreakers of the vilest kind. They have broken the strictest taboo of Judaism. Their adherence to Jesus violates the law of holiness by which the nation is consecrated to Jehovah. It is a spreading plague-spot of uncleanness, widening in Jerusalem, and the contagion is spreading to distant cities. That the whole nation be not defiled the infection must be heroically stamped out. Persecution is but the cleansing of Israel, and is the clear duty of every true priest and teacher of the law.

Doubtless Saul was the more fierce as a persecutor for his intense dissatisfaction with himself. Heresy-hunters are of two classes—the first, a sort of juiceless, dry, and wooden men who are incapable of sympathy with truth in any vital form; and the second, those whom a secret doubt has made to feel the power of new truth only too strongly, and who shrink from it with a wild fear born of their own sense of insecurity.

> Who lights the fagot?
> Not the full faith, no, but the secret doubt.

In the heroic death of Stephen, in the brave endurance of believers and their confident witness for Jesus, and in the confessed purity of their lives there was something that so fascinated Saul that he could not let it alone. It was hard lines for such a man. Persecution was alien to his nature, and, although he goes forward in his career with all good conscience, he afterward realized that a course which had not been prompted by malice involved in the end malignant feelings most worthy of blame.

It is quite possible that other confessors besides Stephen helped to deepen the impression left upon his soul by the defense and death of the protomartyr. His victims did not look, talk, nor act like liars. Some, indeed, did recant and were compelled to utter the blasphemy, "Jesus is accursed!"

The more closely he comes in contact with the new sect, and the more familiar he becomes with its ideas, the more definitely do the logical consequences of the faith develop in his mind. He could not fail to see the bearing of their assertion that the crucified One is risen from the dead. If that assertion be true, that fact alone annuls the law. The law has pronounced its own doom in the curse which has exhausted its futile force upon his frail earthly nature. What if the Messiah be a being superior to the law, who has come to put an end to its exactions and give a real righteousness which shall have power to subdue the rebellious flesh? What if the law had slain a sinless One, slain indeed only his fleshly nature, but whose holiness of spirit has raised him above the world of dead things into a realm of deathless life? These Christians, so virtuous in life and so heroic in suffering, that martyr with the angel light in his face who claims to see the living Jesus standing in God's sight, would be, then, a new order of men who, having identified themselves by their faith and baptism with the Sufferer whom the law had cursed, now share his risen life of triumph over law and deliverance from sin. Had he dared to allow the new grouping of thoughts any acceptance by his will or any voice in words, he might have cried, "O, that I, too, could look upon my body as dead, yea, crucified—it deserves no less a penalty for its sinfulness —and that only the better self of the Spirit might live in me!" It cannot, of course, be claimed that Saul already had any such inward questionings as these; certainly they had not come out into clear consciousness. But he is able to see theoretically the outcome of the idea of a Messiah accursed of the law, slain by it, and yet living through his indefectible holiness. Something he was surely struggling against. He was like an unruly ox that wounds itself by its very acts of violence, "kicking against the goad" held in some master hand. These words which rung through his brain and heart at the supreme crisis of the conflict can only refer to some inward opposition, some rent in his inward being. There is no hint that any external obstacles or difficulties had been placed in

the path of his persecuting rage. It is easy enough for the zeal and energy to hale to prison this viper's brood of sectaries who defile the holiest places with their polluted presence, but it is not so easy to conquer the spiritual forces which have made his soul a battle ground.

It is not necessary to suppose that the mental states here indicated were a matter of distinct consciousness. There is an unsolved mystery in our psychic life which is still the despair of science. Intellectual processes go on in the secret places of the soul, unnoted by the conscious self, until at last they bring forth into the open day of knowledge the finished products of their toil. It is like that mystery of birth, noted only by the all-seeing eye, where in the darkness the brooding spirit fashions in continuance the embryonic shapes which it shall one day give to the light of the sun to be the glory of the world. In that subliminal self, more sensitive to suggestion and more open to all subtle influences than is our conscious life, is the laboratory where by the creative spirit are wrought the works of genius and the visions of inspiration. A new man was being born in Saul, although he knew it not. The materials of the creation were at hand in his experience of sin, his rabbinical training, and the subtle suggestions of the new faith. It only needs some breath of life to vivify these dead elements. That came somehow on the Damascus road. The restless zealot, with a fury of persecuting zeal, heated in the furnace of his own unquiet mind, cannot be satisfied until he has pursued the hateful heresy of the accursed One wherever its malaria of pollution has been wafted. He is the missionary of persecution, as afterward of evangelism.

There can be no better opportunity for the development of reflection than a long and tedious journey. Especially would it be so with a man like Saul. He has little interest in nature. There is no special charm for him in the outward shows of cloud, or mountain, or plain. A child of the great cities, he has never felt the beauties of form or color. In all his writings there are no images drawn from natural objects. In the single possible exception, the illustration from graft-

ing, he even commits an error of observation, for wild shoots are not grafted into cultivated stocks in any horticulture known to man. He sees only the human interest in life. The games, the commerce, the buildings, the mechanic arts, the armies, the policies of States, and, above all, the great drama of the inner life—of reason, passion, conscience, and will—these made for him the poetry of the world. Not yonder Hermon with his crown of snow and robing of storm-cloud; not the murmuring music or the shining ripples of the golden rivers; not the ancient city, Damascus, itself, rising in white splendor out of embowering gardens heavy with rose perfume against a sky of darkest sapphire—none of these made any sharp image upon his soul. He sees, not with the bodily eye, but with the inner vision of the mind, abstractions of thought which to his strange mixture of oriental and Hellenic thinking take real and embodied states. Did the face of Stephen ever leave him? Or did he ever cease to ask himself: "What did the heretic see? He said he saw; he looked as if he saw something or somebody; he said he saw Jesus alive in God's presence, and I saw only his face, his face." And so, perpetually, the idea of the risen Jesus comes to strangely offset his repugnance to the notion of a crucified Messiah, and to suggest its tremendous consequences as regards the economy of the law. The element of sovereignty which he always asserted in his conversion excludes the supposition that Saul had clearly developed the full circle of ideas here outlined; but the psychological character of the Pauline theology and its certain genesis in the facts of his conversion, taken in connection with the information we possess of his pre-Christian beliefs, require us to suppose a larger subjective preparation for faith than perhaps he himself could readily recognize. He did not begin to be a logician with his conversion; that event in his case, as in ours, had a history both in his head and his heart before the overwhelming revelation came which transformed his confused reasonings and wild emotions into assured conviction and unassailable experience. The most dangerous rationalism is that which fails to see the

work of the Spirit as much in the common processes of the intellect and the passions as in the blaze of open heavens and the flashes of sudden insight.

The external circumstances of the conversion of Saul are confused and uncertain, but their confusion is only such as must attend all observation of outward things at those supreme moments when man has dealings with the unseen. It was connected with striking and mysterious objective phenomena, but we have no materials at hand to certainly determine their character. His traveling companions experienced these as well as Saul, but in the blinding splendor they saw no face, and in the deafening sound they heard no message. So far as these rude temple guards are concerned, the resources of meteorology are quite sufficient to explain all that they saw or heard. Thus far one might assent wholly to the brilliant naturalistic construction of the narrative as wrought out by Renan; but it fails utterly to account for the other and most important half of the facts, the experience of Saul, an experience which was more than of sights and of sounds, and which became at once a creative force in his life. The presence of the living Lord is attested, not simply by what was seen and heard, but by what the risen One wrought that day in the moral and spiritual nature of Saul of Tarsus. Paul saw the Lord. This is his repeated protestation, and the whole narrative is meaningless unless it be admitted. It is of little consequence to criticise the account or to analyze its elements. Paul was undoubtedly endowed with a highly excitable temperament; he had frequent visions in which by his own confession he was not able to fully separate inward from outward states; he was subject to ecstatic raptures in which he spoke in tongues; he seems for the most of his life to have been of infirm health—all these and more may be freely admitted, but they are only the temporal and physical conditions which may have determined the form, but did not affect the reality, of an event which he could henceforth no more doubt than he could question the fact of his own personal existence.

Whoso has felt the Spirit of the Highest
Cannot confound nor doubt him, nor deny;
Yea, with one voice, O world, though thou deniest,
Stand thou on that side, for on this am I.

Rather the earth shall doubt when her retrieving
Pours in the rain and rushes from the sod,
Rather than he, for whom the great conceiving
Stirs in his soul to quicken into God.

Aye, though thou then should'st strike him from his glory,
Blind and tormented, maddened and alone,
Even on the cross would he maintain his story,
Yes, and in hell would whisper, "I have known!"

Paul calls his experience "the heavenly vision." He saw a spiritual presence, glorious in appearance, which he recognized as the risen One, and who revealed himself to sight and hearing in visible form and audible speech. Yet what he insists upon continually is not the sensible factor of his vision, but its spiritual import. "It pleased God . . . to reveal his Son in me. God . . . hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." There is no need to shrink from crediting fully the objective facts of this vision. Nothing is more common than for these high moments of spiritual illumination to take form and substance for the senses. The records of Methodism, and indeed every branch of the Christian Church, are full of these psycho-religious phenomena. To the true mystic there are moments when spiritual things become physically tangible:

Faith lends its realizing light;
The clouds disperse, the shadows fly;
The Invisible appears in sight,
And God is seen by mortal eye.

It was high noon on the Damascus road, and in the sky there burned the tameless brilliance of a semitropic sun; but for Paul there has dawned the glory of the Sun behind the sun, seen not in the visible heavens but in those more real heavens which open toward the spiritual realm. Stephen,

too, had seen heaven opened in a ceiled room, the council chamber at Jerusalem, where the sky was certainly invisible to ordinary vision. Did he, as a prosaic commentator explains, "look out of the window?" There are other heavens than science knows of or earthly vision can behold. Things that eye sees not and ear hears not the Spirit of God reveals.

> There are flashes struck from midnight,
> There are fire-flames noondays kindle,
> Whereby piled-up honors perish,
> Whereby swollen ambitions dwindle.

Such was the blinding blaze of sudden glory which smote both the soul and body of Saul. The vision leaves its marks both in his physical and spiritual life. It is no more abstraction of thought, however amazing and inspiring, but concrete experience, incorporated in his very being. The bodily weakness which he carries to the grave—the source of personal suffering and making him the object of self-pitying contempt—is but the fellowship of the sufferings of the Lord, the mark of his own death to the law by crucifixion with Christ. But with it is the consciousness of a new life in the Spirit. The power of the resurrection has quelled the inward strife. He has received by gift a righteousness not his own. Well may he count as offal his hereditary and legal claims. To Paul all was of sovereign grace. To him there was no completed intellectual development leading up to a normal surrender to Christ. That process, so far as it existed at all, is suddenly ended by the direct divine revelation. A bolt from the blue has slain him. His vision of the Lord was that had by one torn from the darkness of the womb before the completion of spiritual gestation and suddenly brought into the light of day. He is led a helpless but willing captive in the triumph of the Christ. The veil of law has suddenly been removed, and he sees the true Shekinah. Before his unveiled vision is the Lord, the Spirit, and into that glory his own nature passes.

Blinded by the vision, and not yet able to fully realize the

sweetness and fullness of that grace which had visited even him who harried the Church of God, he who had left Jerusalem a furious persecutor enters Damascus a humble penitent, to leave it a fervent apostle. In the hostelry of Judas, on that street which is still called "Straight," the word "brother" from a disciple of Jesus assures him of his absolution and turns the vision of glory into the vision of peace. He glories now in what but a week ago he counted as infamy, and willingly becomes an outward sharer in the shame of Jesus by mystical union with the Lord in Christian baptism. The ceremony was strangely significant to Paul by its exact accordance with the revelation that has come to him. He counts himself as dead with Jesus; let the old nature crucified be buried beneath the baptismal flood. It is a new man who rises, still wearing in his dimmed eyes the wonder of a dream.

In Paul's conversion is the genesis of the Pauline Gospel. It is not the story of the earthly ministry of Jesus, but the revelation of his risen life and power. This revelation is a personal consciousness of Christ as dead and now alive. He will know nothing but Christ and him crucified. It is this spiritual Christ who has been revealed to him, the divine, eternal, heavenly Man, after the pattern of whose nature God is re-creating all things. His death being the end of the economy of law, the Gentiles are brought nigh. Thus Paul's conversion as a Christian, his system as a theologian, and his vocation as an apostle are all implicit in his vision of the risen Lord.

Art. II.—THE PROLEGOMENA OF CRITICISM—II.

We are in sight again of an important principle, encountered during our first inquiry into the nature of type forces and type quality. The primal mode of the mind seems more and more clearly to be feeling, and the process of purely intellectual cognition to be but evolved products of imagination. We may now add that prose appears to be nothing but poetry abbreviated and degraded to fact aspects and relations. It is by no means incumbent upon us here to attempt seriously a demonstration of this principle, belonging as it does to æsthetics and not to the department of literature. But it will be helpful to the discussion we have in hand to survey somewhat of the evidence.

The child at birth is devoid of all intellectual knowledge, and amounts to nothing but a homogeneous and helpless bundle of nerves, pitched to an intense and exquisite susceptivity. Little by little the child's experiences translate themselves out of vagueness into definite and identifiable sensations, which in due time begin to associate themselves with distinct objects or acts as causes. Similarly, the vague and vast outside world is reduced from confusion and mystery to orderly and detailed acquaintance with individual phenomena and things. Thus it is that the first activity of the soul, so far as we can know, is feeling, and the initial mode of the mind is imagination. The normally organized child brain is filled with experiences of the sublime and of beauty, or their opposites, all the day long. The coming over of clouds in the outer sky, or five minutes' absence from his nurse or mother, will cover his inner world with gloom from horizon to horizon. Every dark corner or closet even of his nursery is potential to him of untold demons and dangers. There is nothing neutral or prosaic in his environment. Whatever is not awesome, or does not promise urgent experiences of delight, is repellant and unsufferable. His education consists for the most part in taming and wearying the imperious type

forces within. Thus is knowledge with him, in the main, a residuum after active experiences of feeling.

Consciousness, science tells us, keeps always in advance of organic evolution. The idea of movement, of locomotion, was first before hands and feet and wings. These were each a product of feeling, of desire to walk, to grasp or handle, and to fly. But the processes of God have never made greater speed in the eons of the past than they are registering to-day. The aspirations that we feel within to mount above the sordid and the earthly and the sensual will, in the same course of evolution, enable and insure correspondent spiritualization of our race. Similarly, the thirst for knowledge, which is always antecedent to learning and scholarship and science, is slowly but palpably enlarging the intelligence of mankind. Thus the God-given ideal precedes the real; the aimed at tends to become the grasped. The type forces within are in some way breathed upon by the divine afflatus, and arouse us tirelessly and helplessly to act.

The method of nature is everywhere from feeling to knowing, from poetry to prose. Our minds are impressed with great spiritual lessons before detailed intellectual knowledge can evolve itself. Such is the message of the mountains, as of the Alps and the Spanish peaks of Colorado, when we first approach. We can later separate the blue mass of domes and ridges into individual details, and subtract from the sum of influence whatever we may learn of specific altitudes and names. The beauty of a forest possesses without thought or recognition of the hemlock or chestnut or poplar trees that may probably compose it. The first effect of seeing a landscape is an experience of delight, in which there is no mental reference to the particular parcels of land that make it up or to the farmers who are severally proprietors over each. We are at pains to ignore and eschew such knowledge, though after we have settled in the locality that sort of information becomes definitively and of necessity our own. There are further examples yet more striking. The instant effect of woman's presence and beauty is admiration, and so absolute

and uncalculating is her influence that all civilized society is ruled by it. The world at large is but poorly advised as to the reasons. Woman herself does not in general understand her secret, but takes it all superbly for granted; while few of the brother sex ever reach the philosophy of the case, but obey blindly the inner type forces that compel her supremacy. The man who does despite to woman's dignity and name is at once an outlaw. Unreasoningly and almost unwittingly the best law-abiding community will pursue him and punish him to the death. There is surely here but little knowing after and in consequence of feeling. Sex phenomena of like sort appear through many of the lower orders, as Darwin has shown, though with the beauty and the obligations of it shifted generally to the male. The ulterior design of inspiring feelings of repugnance or terror by first impressions is seen at large in the reptilians, as also in many rapacious birds and beasts of prey, which are believed to paralyze their victims or at least to render them in some measure incapable of feeling the agony of the death they fear.

The chief and last suggestions come to us from the highest generalizations of science. We are told that from the manifestation of cosmic energy called "ether"—which is a spiritual manifestation, and perhaps the original and ultimate essence of Deity—the First Cause changes himself into the modes of force that are styled "chemic elements," and by another mode or habit of his activity known by us as "chemism" holds molecules together so as to form substance, and by another mode that has been named gravity holds masses of so-called matter in fixed relations and makes suns and worlds and mountains and seas and meadows possible. If this is true, then there is an emotional basis of all things; then do we live and move and have our being in a fundamental sentiment of the soul of God. As a mother keeps herself in subjection to her household, hushing it to stillness while her baby sleeps; as a father denies himself recreation and comforts, carrying various and grievous burdens, with his heart all the day long upon his family—so the great All-Father postures himself

and tempers his mode and refrains his goings that his creatures may live and prosper upon this earth, this lap of Nature in which he holds them. Just an instant of inattention, the merest twinkling of neglect, the veriest shadow of impatience, and this little orb of ours would fly back to homogeneous and pristine vapor, and all the work of the ages be annulled. As we divine in our earliest home-life the type senses in the father's soul—which indeed are his soul as far as we can know it—long before we come to know him as a thinker or as a citizen and a man, so we do spiritually and transcendentally discern in our environment the type forces of truth and of the beautiful which make up the character of God, and out of which this fabric of the universe, or, as it may be, of the universes, has been born.

The like is true of the great monuments of human handiwork; feeling precedes knowing, and begets it. So it is with the lessons of the pyramids and of the great cathedrals, of the seven wonders of the world in classic times. So is it also with the Sistine Madonna and other masterpieces of its kind. We study them after, and in consequence of, the inspiration which at first possesses us. We construe Homer and Æschylus and Vergil, if not from like influence upon ourselves, then from like influence upon our pedagogical guides and mentors. Every great book and work of art is conceived of inspiration larger and more potent than any mere intellectual knowing. We have of record something about the fervor out of which the "Divine Comedy" was forged; we have been told concerning the passion in which the "Creation" and the "Messiah" were wrought. Each great character in Shakespeare —as Hermione, Imogen, Hamlet—must have been the fruit of a noble sentiment, such as we know produced "Luria" and "Paracelsus," and "Sordello." Inspiration must be felt before any work of art can be achieved, and must be imparted before any work of art can be comprehended. In other words, it is the type forces, not the "categories," that stir first in the maker and are stirred first in the reader or beholder.

It will be helpful to remember here that poetry is demon-

strably the original literary form, and that prose is an evolution from this. But our main proposition is something short of the thesis we are now considering. It is simply this: In art as well as in poetry spiritual discerning merges intellectual knowledge; the thing to be felt is made to do duty for that which is to be known. In good art there is nothing left to be told outside the picture; in good poetry there is no obscurity. In bad art there is more of fact left out than by the onlooker can be supplied; in ineffectual poetry there is sometimes need of a prosaic gloss. Typically, every work of art, every æsthetic composition, is adapted to arousing in the observer or reader a strong sentiment, which sentiment shall be potential of, and inspire unto, all involved intellectual knowing. The manner of this in the coarser sort of pictures is palpable enough. Not long ago a remarkable cartoon appeared on the front page of a popular and enterprising morning paper. It exhibited a certain statesman of great prominence, with physical features much exaggerated, his face all agrin with pride, pointing to a portrait of himself hanging on the wall as an example of the self-made man. It was edifying to watch the effect of the cartoon upon the patrons of the paper. At first everybody laughed; then with great interest they began to study the less evident ultimate meaning of the picture. After a few seconds this also was discerned, and the reader laughed again and set out in search of some one, and without the slightest reference to his politics, with whom to share the knowledge and the fun.

When we look at a face of well-marked individuality we are impressed with the presence of certain important type qualities. These have been so urgent in the inner life of the man as to set themselves in the muscular equilibrium of his features. We know he is a man of decision by the tense and drawn expression about the corners of his mouth, or we recognize that he is kindly by the openness of the upper features and the difficulty with which he looks stern or frowns. We get thus a systematic experience of the kindliness or of the decision before we can realize at all under what circumstances

these qualities have been or will be best exhibited. Moreover, since these type forces are elements of his personality the effects or marks they have produced will be elements in any proper representation of his face. If that representation be a portrait of the usual sort, the painter will emphasize these elements, either by keeping other type qualities more or less apparent out of the picture or by relatively enlarging and emphasizing the importance of the former as against the latter. If the object be to enforce some effect of the one or the other of these qualities, after the cartoon fashion, the product will be sensational and will greatly merge and subordinate the knowing in the feeling. But in any case the feeling is first and paramount, and is left to do much duty for the knowing. A portrait in oils differs from a photograph of the same face in that the type forces of worth and beauty found in it are strengthened and made salient, in order to appeal to like type forces in the mind of the beholder. They are set forth interpretatively as far as, without spoiling the face as a fact, is possible. The photograph presents the meanings of the face in the literal or prose way, since there is in it no selection or idealization by a discerning and responsive mind. The portrait will exalt the spiritual traits discovered in the truth or the beauty way, according as they are of the sublime or of the beauty sort. The same is true of interpretative writing; the vitalizing element of truth or beauty is brought to view, while the fact is almost ignored. It is this partiality of the writer to the spiritual import of his theme, evinced in an effort to idealize it and transfigure it with ornate or lofty diction, that makes in literature the second element just identified as our first paper closed.

Of course, there seems at first some incongruity in calling the interpretative presentations a literary element. But there is nothing wrong in treating that which distinguishes painting from photography as an element in art. Photography is in a certain sense a constituent in art, and is often used fundamentally or provisionally as a substitute for interpretative treatment. Photography is the prose of art. It presents

things seen as facts, without appeal to the aspects of beauty or truth that they evince. So does prose in literature. In both the thing to be known is set forth without recognition of the truth or beauty in it upon the feelings. Let now the photographed object be painted, or the incident declared in the prosaic way be told poetically, and all is different. Yet nothing has been done or has been possible to do save to restore the vital spiritual meaning which the unsympathetic or preoccupied author has dropped from view. This primal spiritual meaning, which the writer or artist while ignoring really takes for granted, is not an element at all, since it is the insistent and ultimate residuum in nature and cannot wholly be excluded from either the author's or the reader's consciousness. The only increment which appears in the interpretative treatment, and not in the prosaic, is the personal vein or mood through which the ultimate meaning has expressed itself. It is not the personality of the artist or writer, but the resultant of this and the inspiration of his theme. That is what was illustrated, a few minutes back, by the reference to one of McCutcheon's best cartoons. The ultimate meaning in the given incident has aroused strong feeling in its interpreter. This personal emotion he attempts to impart to us, keeping somewhat back for the moment the influence which has caused it and subordinating our knowing to his feeling. When we are once aroused he will identify to us this influence and attempt to make it as cogent with us as with himself. The difference between the interpretative way of presenting the meaning and a literal, fact presentation constitutes the second element in literary art.

So prose, like photography, is a later evolution. The first literature, as the first art, was highly emotional. What was man's first need of speech when language began? Was it not feeling, rather than thought or mere knowing? The earliest attempts of children to draw their friends and pets are so exaggerated and sensational as to seem often beyond logical and intellectual recognition. The first essays of savages to give shape to their divinities, as the rain-god of the Pueblo

Indians, are weird and grotesque exceedingly. It is not at all strange that we revert to sensational and outlandish means and forms by which to convey political or other truths. So it is that dialect writing, as in *The Biglow Papers* and *The Nasby Letters*, has had no little influence in shaping and intensifying public sentiment. The *London Punch* has been declared the most potent arm of the British press. In campaign times the cartoon is a most dreaded and incalculable means of forcing home, in feeling put for knowing, the real issues of the hour. In the long and bitter struggle between a prominent railway corporation and its striking engineers, ten years ago, the chief towns along the route were plastered with big posters representing great piles of wrecked rolling-stock and broken merchandise, and bearing the legend, "Prepare to meet thy God." This use of the second element, if there had been at bottom any real concern for the public safety or any other sentiment than a frantic desire to injure the corporation by any and every means possible, would have changed the issue of the struggle. No hundred-page pamphlet setting forth the blunders and incapacity of the substituted nonunion employees, had there been really casualties at all, could have done a tenth part of the mischief.

The impulse to thrust ultimate meanings upon the world by way of compulsory interpretative forms is by no means confined to politicians and demagogues and "yellow journalism." We shall find conservative men yielding to it even in the most staid and unshifting concerns. Original minds with a message or a mission have often worked by methods that belong generically with the illustrations just considered, and equally with them leave the thing to be felt to do duty for that to be known. Horace Greeley's old gray hat and overcoat stood in the public eye for the New York *Tribune* with its principles and policy, and got the paper more subscribers than all its advertising. Diogenes's lantern and patched tub were the fundamental secrets of that philosopher's success, since they compelled an initial experience of the type forces in the man, out of which his eccentricities had

grown. Similarly, indeed, it is but the same tub and lantern that keep this man in the world's memory to-day. The wonderful career of the Christ was carried on throughout upon the basis of marvels and tender ministerings, in which all his nature and mission lay open to the world. It was these that illustrated and enforced his teachings in advance; it is these that are correcting the Christian theologies of the day. All false Christs and antichrists before and since have severally attempted, not dissimilarly, to possess the hearts, the imaginations of the people first, and to induce systematic doctrine after. Mormons, spiritualists, faith-healers, and not a few other latter-day reformers pretend to miracles, and base their claims to recognition and following solely upon the mighty works they do. Count Tolstoi has impressed the thought of the time more deeply by his peasant's dress and fare, and by his shoemaking, than by the theory he preaches. Here is manifestly a principle that asserts itself in larger matters, and governs yet in small. It lies at the bottom of corporal punishment. It is paramount in the earliest teaching of children, through alphabet blocks and kindergarten gifts and Mother Goose rhymes. It is the controlling principle in oratory, by which a speaker making his audience feel the effect of principles not yet logically comprehended may capture the suffrages of half a nation—as lately happened—by a single interpretative sentence. Finally, as partly seen, it is the law of that emotional side of literature that we call poetry.

When the type forces in the mind have complete control, the mode of consciousness is feeling, and any attempt to give expression to that state of consciousness will tend to produce the same feeling in the audience or the reader. When Charles A. Dana, as Assistant Secretary of War, telegraphed the capture of Missionary Ridge to Stanton, his words were, "Glory to God! The day is decisively ours. Missionary Ridge has just been carried by the magnificent charge of Thomas's troops, and the rebels routed." Here is transmitted first an ejaculation, generically indicative of the strongest possible emotion; then follows the general, then the

detailed, knowledge lying at the bottom of the feeling. Mr. Dana was not a man given to ungovernable outbursts of emotion, but the extraordinary brilliancy of the victory made him for the moment a child again. Mr. Stanton, in turn, was not much given to demonstrations of poetic feeling, but we cannot be sure that his excitement, on receipt of the message, was much inferior. We think it nothing strange that emotional and high-strung schoolgirls, that we watch tripping out to meet the postman, should open their letters and cry, "Hurrah!" "Beautiful!" though upon ridiculously small occasion. They are only girls, we say, and have not learned to keep their emotions in abeyance. But the oldest and wisest of us never outgrow the same instincts and modes of action; and this not only in moments of extreme excitement, but likewise in certain other states of mind which we are accustomed to consider wholly normal. The inner process that Mr. Dana's telegram illustrates and the exclamation of the schoolgirl on opening a letter of unexpected good news are the same in kind as that by which the artist brings to us the pleasure of a masterpiece. The official to whom Mr. Dana telegraphs and the companion to whom the schoolgirl cries "Hurrah!" must, of course, be further and definitely apprised of what the message of joy really is. This may be done, generically, either in the prose way or in the interpretative way. Thus far both Mr. Stanton and the companion of the schoolgirl have been communicated with by way of art. For "art," says Lilly, "is the external manifestation of the idea, the revelation of the invisible reality through the senses." Art, let us say more technically, is the process by which the excitation of the type forces in one mind is of purpose imparted to the type forces in another mind. Any means by which the emotion felt by one man is caused of purpose immediately and effectually to be felt by another man will be art in its degree. After the first outbursts of feeling Mr. Dana's telegram drops to prose. The schoolgirl's explanation of her outcry will be declared, we may be sure, in an emotional and crudely interpretative vein. Now if Mr. Dana were able to transmit

immediately to Secretary Stanton, in place of his prosaic information, a picture of Thomas's troops charging into the rifle pits on Missionary Ridge, and Mr. Stanton were thus enabled to identify the troops as Thomas's and the mountain as Missionary Ridge, then the entire communication between Dana and his chief would have been an art procedure of the first or "cause" kind, as explained in our preceding paper. If, again, it had been possible for Mr. Dana to exhibit to Secretary Stanton, as a justification and interpretation of his excitement, a painting of himself just as he was and as he acted when he first knew of the charge, field glass in hand, shouting, swinging his hat, and pointing to the Ridge smoking in the distance above him, the communication would have been equally as before an art procedure, and the enthusiasm of the undersecretary have been saved from a descent to prose.

It is interesting to note that Tolstoi's theory of art, so far as quoted in the translations of his recent paper, agrees strikingly with the generalizings we have just been forced to make. It is flattering to find that nothing but a recognition of the controlling inner forces is wanting to bring that great thinker's system into essential agreement with the one here outlined. The type forces within demand gratification or excitation, and when proper occasions bring this they must repeat and enlarge the experience by reinaugurating it in another mind. It is itself a type necessity, when new truth or new delight has come to us, that the consequent exaltation complete itself by an alliance with a kindred experience in a kindred soul. That procedure will be carried through, if possible, transcendentally, in spiritual elements and terms. If the process is interrupted, and finishes with literal or prosaic means, all will descend together to the unspiritual plane of fact. Art ceases to be art if it must translate its inspiration into terms of purely intellectual knowledge. Art is not anxious to withhold any of the realizing knowledge that prose might tell. It would fain enlarge the spiritual enjoyment and prolong the moment of emotion, and hence exalts into lingering—and sometimes hindering—emotional details

the literal facts at bottom. In other words, art keeps our experiences generic, above time and space relations, delaying our recognition of the specific as long as may be.

The man that makes a painting, a statue, begins with a sentiment, a vision of beauty, and ends with rendering that vision, that sentiment, objective and material to the world. We remember seeing, as a schoolboy, the famous statue of Ruth. We recognized nothing of who it was, or what it meant, but we admired and enjoyed the piece generically very much. After somewhat of study, through hint of the mood and the pose, of the habitat and of the half-filled sheaf of gleanings, we widened our imaginative experience of the piece so as to include identification of the person and the incident that had inspired the artist to use his art. If it had been necessary for the chiseler to tell us, as Dana was forced to tell Mr. Stanton, what circumstance had inspired him, the statue would have been no true representative of art. A symphony pleases our sense of harmony for years sometimes, through many and various renderings, before the thought, the idea, of the composition possesses us. Should some officious babbler essay to tell us, in a literal prose exposition, what the message meant, the message would be degraded and seem unworthy. If we are to be helped, the aid must come by way of the music, the meaning must be saved and exalted for us that it may be spiritually discerned. In the outside world of beauty but few of mankind ever reach the lesson of the clouds, the grass, the many-colored landscape, the trees, the sky. Ruskin in his *Modern Painters* holds out his hand and points with his finger in mercy to the dull and stumbling, often from the side and in the vein of a prose mentor. The higher meanings of Shakespeare and Tennyson and like literary masters, instead of being revealed, as is possible, by the light kindled within the learner's mind, must needs even yet be glossed and paraphrased for him from without and by the same prosaic and heavy-handed meddler.

Shall we turn again to literature, that we may contemplate more fully the evidence that enforced the generalizings with

which our first paper closed? But a word of illustration is needed to bring poetry and all other interpretative masterpieces under the principles considered a little ago in connection with Mr. Dana's dispatch and the schoolgirl's outcry. If, in the recent days of war reports the writer had heard a man rushing along the street and crying, "Glory to God! Victory! Victory!" he would have caught the excitement and shared the exultation of triumph as fully as is possible to his nature. But, by the insistence of the type forces within, he would be forced instantly to ask, "What?" "Where?" "How?" If the man in response produces an "Extra" of some newspaper, and thus induces the writer to give himself to the facts of the battle, set forth in authorized and complete detail, the transaction will have descended from art or any possibilities of art to prose. But if he finds placed before him such an interpretative and sympathetic picture of the fight as Milton or Hawthorne might paint with words, he would not be forced to descend to the plane of fact and be his own interpreter; the transaction would continue as it began at its highest emotional and artistic level, and what he should read would remain a thing of power even to coming generations. Art not only keeps its own counsel, but it takes its time. Hence it oftenest happens that we read ephemeral fact reports of battles on the instant, but see the interpretative pictures and read the literary descriptions long after. But when we do read the descriptions of Carlyle or Motley, and see the battle pieces of Gettysburg or Waterloo, we begin with a quantum of sentiment wholly the same in kind as moved the making of the description or the picture. It is the etherealizing inspiration of the theme that keeps the mind of the author or artist to the high interpretative level. It is the effect of both his inspiration and his interpretative treatment together that holds the reader to the same plane of spiritual meaning, whence he is as unwilling as his author to descend bathetically to prose.

What, then, is the second of the literary elements? The answer is, Whatever of difference exists between lofty inter-

pretative diction and the same meaning told in the literal or prosaic way. There can be no absolute or exclusive elements in art, since objective manifestations are inert unless spiritually discerned. Nothing can be called an art element that does not occasion specific experiences of spiritual quality unproduced by other means. Conversely, every ultimate thing that does produce such experiences generically is an element. That which is found in the painted portrait of a face that is not found in a photograph of the same, namely, interpretative handling, feeling put for knowing, is generically an element. Nothing will better serve as a first example than what we find at the opening of "Paradise Lost." Expressed baldly, with no least yielding to the interpretative impulse, Milton's first nine lines and a half would amount to nothing more than this: "Concerning man's fall, its cause, and its consequences, up to the redemption wrought by Christ, I propose to write." Here are three subpoints to be touched upon in the interpretative vein: the fall, salvation, and the declaration of a purpose. The first of these is enlarged by the author, in the truth presentation, thus:

> Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit
> Of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste
> Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
> With loss of Eden.

The reference to redemption, which is the second subpoint, is couched interpretatively thus:

> Till one greater Man
> Restore us, and regain the blissful seat.

Then finally, instead of saying, "I now intend to write or treat this theme," Milton borrows the old classic idea of inspiration through a specific genius or deity, identifying the influence he means by its work in the seership of Moses; and this influence he invokes to indite his strains:

> Sing, heavenly muse, that on the secret top
> Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
> That shepherd who first taught the chosen seed
> In the beginning how the heavens and earth
> Rose out of chaos.

To a Buddhist or Brahmanic reader, no matter how well versed in English speech, unless he chance to be expert in the higher truths and principles of Christian theology, this opening passage would be unintelligible. Even our native college youth and maidens, themselves well-languaged and well-instructed in the lore of the catechism, often find the diction of this poem intolerable, and sometimes conclude, after a trial or two, that they have not the brains to read it. The reason is not merely that they lack a certain spiritual or philosophic maturity—for the literal meanings of "Paradise Lost," as all else of Milton's poetry, are throughout simple, but they have not yet learned to kindle at the first note of lofty feeling. Unawakened minds must always, perhaps, regard that master work as a mass of trite and exploded notions told in tedious circumlocution. On the other hand, there are always bookworms and other lovers of literature for its own sake who prefer neat and finical paraphrasing to straightforward diction. There is possibly, also, another group of readers with tastes so etherealized as to insist that literal and commonplace things come to view, not as upon the solid plane of fact where they belong, but by mirage, solely in the upper air of the spiritual. Neither of these is the class of true readers for whom Milton and Shakespeare and Sophocles and Dante and Tennyson and the other masters of true interpretation write, and who are capable of fully understanding them.

We cannot account for the style and language of the "Paradise Lost" as merely periphrastic for the sake of elegance, or as ingeniously varied to avoid triteness, but only as inspired by a generic sentiment of the sublime. This feeling, induced in advance by the transcendental proportions of the theme, by the vast conceptions that from the first had gathered about the plan, enforced the author to lay aside his literal or matter-of-fact vocabulary and manner and admit only such expressions as would befit the loftiness of his purpose. It may be noted that "Paradise Regained" lacks the noble indirectness of the earlier epic. Thus, at the opening of the second paragraph, wishing to ask rhetorically the reason for

Eve's and Adam's disloyalty, Milton goes to considerable interpretative length in expressing it:

> Say first what cause
> Moved our grand parents, in that happy state,
> Favored of Heaven so highly, to fall off
> From their Creator, and transgress his will
> For one restraint, lords of the world besides.
> Who first seduced them to that foul revolt?

Any such circumlocution would be intolerable in prose; yet a more curt or condensed mode of utterance under these circumstances would fail of the controlling sentiment in the author's mind. Poetry, whether metrical or not, is in reality a sort of interpreted prose, and amounts to retelling in spiritual terms something already known or assumed to have been already told in the fact way. In primitive and rudimentary literature there is often a double statement, one prosaic or literal and one interpretative. We see examples of this most frequently in the Hebrew Psalms:

> When Israel went forth out of Egypt. (Literal.)
> The house of Jacob from a people of strange language. (Interpretative.)
> Judah became his sanctuary,
> Israel his dominion.
> O come, let us sing unto the Lord. (Literal.)
> Let us make a joyful noise to the Rock of our Salvation. (Interpretative.)

It will thus be found that the supposed parallelisms of the Hebrew Scriptures are not strictly parallel, or intended to be merely repetitions of single notions, but are attempts to express undeveloped residues of inner spiritual meaning.

The literature of mature civilizations and authorship is generally too intense to permit a literal statement and an interpretative repetition of the same idea; a single presentation is made to do duty for both clauses. In such case it is naturally the fitter that survives; the principle, which is greater than the fact, is put for principle and fact together. This presentation will, of course, be of the second or third kind. We illustrate by the opening paragraph of "The Holy Grail:"

> From noiseful arms, and acts of prowess done
> In tournament or tilt, Sir Percivale,
> Whom Arthur and his knighthood called the Pure,
> Had passed into the silent life of prayer,
> Praise, fast, and alms; and leaving for the cowl
> The helmet in an abbey far away
> From Camelot, there, and not long after, died.

It is interesting to note how completely the literal or "prose" meanings are evaded, or expressed by implication only. The first part of the passage is essentially equivalent, with the literal and interpretative meanings unmerged, to this:

> From wars, or noiseful arms, and from tournaments or tilts, and acts of real prowess done therein, Sir Percivale, whom Arthur and his knights believed to have achieved the ideal of purity to which they were sworn, and whom hence they called "the Pure," had entered an abbey, and thus passed into the silent life of prayer, praise, fasting, and alms-soliciting.

The last line of the paragraph, as will have been noted, is not interpretative, but ends the whole, though strongly, in the prosaic way. Camelot, it must be remembered, is not to be taken as geographic merely, but associational of great towers and marvelous riches and beauty. The sentence, if completed as begun, might have closed somewhat as thus:

> . . . . and leaving for the cowl
> The helmet in an abbey far away
> From Camelot, the flower of Arthur's towns,
> Built high and strong and wonderful with magic,
> There yielded, not much afterward, his life.

There is palpably at bottom in this opening paragraph a similar sentiment of the sublime to that which inspires the lines quoted some minutes back from the beginning of "Paradise Lost." The sympathetic and responsive reader adjusts his mind immediately to the same imaginative pitch. The passage involves but little difficulty, even to the tyro, in carrying the fundamental sense; though one hears, at times, of high-school, and even of college, learners not quite equal to it. We seem in the main, so far as poetry is concerned, to have gained a stage beyond marginal notes and glosses. We are at

once reminded of Poe's strictures on the prose introduction to Longfellow's "Skeleton in Armor," and of the good they wrought. If a reader cannot get the sense of a poem, we no longer suffix a moral, to mend his stumbling. Interpretative prose is not yet above lending, upon occasion, gratuitous and inartistic aid. So Hawthorne, speaking of the unpractical philosophers gathered in near proximity to the Old Manse, alludes thus to the man who was their chief attraction:

> These hobgoblins of flesh and blood were attracted thither by the widespreading influence of a great original thinker, who had his earthly abode at the opposite extremity of our village. His mind acted upon other minds of a certain constitution with wonderful magnetism, and drew many men upon long pilgrimages to speak with him face to face. Young visionaries—to whom just so much of insight had been imparted as to make life all a labyrinth around them—came to seek the clew that should guide them out of their self-involved bewilderment. Gray-headed theorists—whose systems, at first air, had finally imprisoned them in an iron framework—traveled painfully to his door, not to ask deliverance, but to invite the free spirit into their own thraldom.

All this is sufficiently potential of the person meant, so that even he who should read might run and not fail from the generic experiences of the man's soul quality to identify the man himself. But Hawthorne seems constrained to add, for prosaic clearness, a much more definite reference, as this next sentence proves: "People that had lighted on a new thought, or a thought that they had fancied new, came to Emerson, as the finder of a glittering gem hastens to a lapidary, to ascertain its quality and value."

It is of the essence of interpretative writing, as has been sufficiently expounded, that if we begin with a generic experience of spiritual quality, we shall soon find ourselves identifying the individual thing or person exhibiting such quality. Hawthorne believed in the second element, nevertheless, and also left his reader to make out his knowing by way of feeling in the poet's way, as other examples from the same quotation show. A few pages back from his reference to Emerson, in a paragraph discoursing of the restful influences of a sojourn at the Old Manse upon his guests, is this passage:

Others could give them pleasure and amusement or instruction —these could be picked up anywhere; but it was for me to give them rest, rest in a life of trouble. What better could be done for those weary and world-worn spirits—for him whose career of perpetual action was impeded and harassed by the rarest of his powers and the richest of his acquirements [Hillard], for another who had thrown his ardent heart from earliest youth into the strife of politics, and now, perchance, began to suspect that one lifetime is too brief for the accomplishment of any lofty aim [Pierce], for her on whose feminine nature had been imposed the heavy gift of intellectual power, such as a strong man might have staggered under, and with it the necessity to act upon the world [Margaret Fuller]?

It is evident that the author had determined not to present these persons except interpretatively, and expected his readers—all for whom he cared—to divine them severally through experiences of the high quality which had made them what they were.

Manifestly the type forces of the soul, when they have molded the speech of a race until equal to their needs, will shape the evolution, always, of an interpretative diction. The Vedas are cast nobly in interpretative strains. The Hebrew Psalms and prophecies are similarly conceived and couched. It was lately seen that "Paradise Lost" is such at opening; and the method and style of the opening are the method and style of the whole poem. So it is the manner of the two great epics upon which this work was patterned—the "Iliad" and the Aeneid," especially the latter:

Arms and the man I sing, who first from the shores of the Troad
Came into Italy, exiled by fate, and the coasts of Lavinium—
He much harassed on lands and the deep by the might of celestials,
Roused through spite by Juno the jealous in wrath forgetting.

There is no identifying mention of Æneas here, the purpose being to make the reader feel him with his soul and afterward know him with his mind. The supreme experiences of life approach us by hidden, transcendental avenues. Our knowledge of God, of our mother's love, of ravishing beauty, of the sublime and terrible in nature, does not come to us by way of the eye or of the ear, for the blind and deaf have not less acquaintance with them than ourselves. The type forces

within stand as interpreters of the unconditioned world beyond, and testify to us without speech or language, with no less aid from the things of sense, of its mysterious and awful nearness. In every work of art they make known to us the conscious presence of the vague and vast, of the all-pervading, universal soul. It is this presence which Vergil appeals to here, in his degree. Dante, in his world-famed "Commedia," stirs in us this sense of the infinite more fully:

> Midway upon the journey of our life
> I found myself within a darkling wood
> Since the direct pathway had been missed.

All the great things of literature are sombered by it;* it proves scarce possible for any save the most reckless and trivial to write without reflecting some influence from it. Perhaps the genius most under its spell within this century has been Carlyle. What Titanic moods and passions has it bred in him! The second element produces a generic exaltation through making this pervading presence felt. Dealing with the small and paltry in the world of facts, it makes the peaks of God overhead show through. The unit with this element is the whole idea, not terms or clauses contributory to the thought. The opening of "Paradise Lost," of Homer, of Vergil, and of Dante contains no single figure in lesser units, but is never figurative except as allegory. Allegory is the first fruits of the second element in literature.

* We must recognize the black-letter characters, evolved from the Gothic gloom of the Middle Ages, as an attempt to force the readers of that time "to discern" even the alphabet elements spiritually rather than intellectually.

L. A. Sherman.

Art. III.—RICHARD BENTLEY.

If to confer lasting benefit upon mankind be the true title to greatness, then surely the name of Richard Bentley should hold no mean place in the list of the world's great men. It was he who first placed classical scholarship upon a really scientific basis; it was he who first planned to constitute a text of the New Testament based directly upon the oldest and best manuscripts, and thus became the founder of New Testament criticism; his clear and powerful style gives him a place among the leading prose writers of the eighteenth century; and for more than forty years he was one of the most prominent figures in a great English university. By the sheer force of his commanding personality he stamped himself indelibly upon the life and thought of his age.

Richard Bentley was born on January 27, 1662, in the village of Oulton, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Those who love to note the influence of environment upon character will not fail to observe that he had not a little of the strong good sense and canny shrewdness that are commonly supposed to characterize the Yorkshireman. His family were yeomen, and were originally well-to-do; but his grandfather had served in the royalist army, and part of the family property had therefore been confiscated. Bentley's father, whose name was Thomas, still owned a small estate at Woodlesford, not far from Oulton. The mother of Bentley was the daughter of a mason or builder of Oulton, and seems to have been a woman of unusual gifts. She gave the young Richard his first instruction in Latin grammar. After attending a day school for a time Bentley was sent to Wakefield Grammar School. The lot of a public-school boy in those days was by no means an enviable one. The tasks were hard, and the punishments excessively severe. Of Bentley's school days we know but little; but it is certain that he retained a vivid recollection of them, and long afterward when talking to his grandson he blamed his teachers for punishing him because

"the dunces [said he] could not discover that I was pondering it in my mind and fixing it more firmly in my memory than if I had been bawling it out amongst the rest of my schoolfellows." When only fourteen years of age Bentley passed from the grammar school to St. John's College at Cambridge. He had his own way to make, for his father had died and the small estate had been left to an older son. He was admitted as a subsizar, a poor student of the very lowest class, who received his board and lodging free in return for certain menial labor. Doubtless his haughty spirit chafed under the burden; but so far as we know he made no complaint. There is reason to believe that he was a diligent student, and was even then laying the broad and deep foundations of that colossal erudition which was afterward to astonish his contemporaries. The only memorial of his undergraduate life that has come down to us is an English poem upon the Gunpowder Plot. It abounds in classical allusions, and is more vigorous than elegant.

In 1680, at the age of eighteen, Bentley took his B.A. degree. His name stood sixth among the honor men of the first class; but in reality he was third, for three of the men above him had been inserted in the list merely as a compliment to their rank. He had been elected to a scholarship, but never received a fellowship. Nevertheless his college did him honor by appointing him, when he was only twenty, head master of Spaulding School in Lincolnshire. It may well be questioned, however, whether he was suited to this post. His temper was too harsh and his disposition too arbitrary to make him a successful head master. But fortunately he was soon called away to a position for which he was far better adapted. Dr. Stillingfleet, then Dean of St. Paul's, formerly fellow of St. John's College, invited Bentley to become tutor to his second son. Here, indeed, was a magnificent opportunity. Dr. Stillingfleet was himself a profound scholar, and, what was of inestimable value for Bentley, possessed one of the finest private libraries in all England. We can well imagine with what eagerness the ambitious young man availed himself of

the treasures of that splendid collection. Moreover, he worked in no desultory fashion, but made himself indexes and lists of the authors whom he found cited by ancient writers. Our own Holmes has said:

> Though index-learning turn no student pale,
> It holds the eel of science by the tail.

But when one has to make his own indexes, as Bentley did, the labor may well turn the student very pale indeed. What pains Bentley took we may judge from his own words:

> I wrote, before I was twenty-four years of age, a sort of *Hexapla*, a thick volume in quarto, in the first column of which I inserted every word of the Hebrew Bible alphabetically; and in five other columns, all the various interpretations of those words in the Chaldee, Syriac, Vulgate, Latin, Septuagint, and Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, that occur in the whole Bible.

And this was only one of the many fields in which he labored. Truly, there is no royal road to learning.

For six long, happy, peaceful years Bentley remained in the home of Bishop Stillingfleet. Not only was his learning broadening and deepening, and his powerful mind attaining the full measure of its strength, but in his patron's house he was mingling in some of the very best literary society of the day. Bentley was no mere recluse or solitary student, and he acquired a knowledge of the world which was destined to serve him well in later times. There is an anecdote of him, however, which shows that his character was beginning to display some of its harsher features. One day at dinner, after Bentley had left the table, one of the guests, who had been sitting next to him, said to the bishop, "My lord, that chaplain of yours is certainly a very extraordinary man." "Yes," answered Stillingfleet, "had he but the gift of humility, he would be the most extraordinary man in Europe." Immediately after the Revolution Stillingfleet was made Bishop of Worcester. His second son was sent to Wadham College, Oxford, and Bentley accompanied the young man thither. Bentley himself took an *ad eundem* degree of M.A.

from Wadham, and his name was placed on the college rolls. He thus obtained access to the Bodleian Library, with its priceless treasures. Never, perhaps, were they opened to one more capable of wisely using them. At this time Bentley, conscious of his powers and full of the vigor of young manhood, formed vast literary projects. He thought of editing the fragments of all the Greek poets—a truly Herculean task—and of bringing out a huge edition of Hesychius, Suidas, and the other Greek lexicographers. But his attention was soon drawn away from these schemes by another undertaking. Some of the Oxford scholars were about to bring out an edition of the Chronicle of John of Antioch, surnamed Malelas. This Malelas was a late writer, (cent. 7-10 A. D.), and his Chronicle, which is written in Greek, is not of much value, but contains a few fragments of better things. Bentley's friend, Dr. John Mill, was to supervise the edition. Bentley observed to Mill that he would like to see the book before it was published; and Mill consented on condition that Bentley would make such suggestions as occurred to him.

Accordingly, Bentley embodied his observations upon Malelas in a Latin letter addressed to Dr. Mill. This letter it was which first gave Bentley a reputation among European scholars. It is surely one of the most marvelous feats of scholarship ever performed by a young man less than thirty years of age. Not content with criticising and annotating Malelas, Bentley ranges at will over the whole domain of classical literature. In this one letter of ninety-eight pages over sixty Greek and Latin writers are incidentally explained or amended. In the careless exuberance of his learning Bentley pauses here to emend a scholiast, there to restore the text of a dramatic fragment, now to establish a rule of meter, and now to correct a point of chronology. And the impression of power which the work leaves upon us is heightened by the singular Latin style in which it is written—rough, unhewn, sometimes strongly colloquial, but with a sledge-hammer force and directness which drive the thought home into the mind of the reader. Bentley's words are "like nails

driven in a sure place." The letter to Mill appeared in 1691. In 1690 Bentley had taken orders, and became chaplain to Bishop Stillingfleet. It so happened that the scientist and philosopher Robert Boyle, who died in 1691, left a bequest of fifty pounds a year to be paid to some divine for preaching eight sermons in the year against notorious infidels. The trustees appointed in the will selected Bentley to deliver these lectures. He chose as his subject, "A Confutation of Atheism," and as his point of attack the doctrines of Thomas Hobbes. Atheism was rife in Bentley's day, and this he attributed to the influence of Hobbes and his disciples. The Hobbists did not recognize the authority of the Holy Scriptures, and Bentley resolved to meet them upon their own ground and confute them by arguments based upon the evidences of design in the material universe. Newton's *Principia* had been published only five years before. Bentley was a good mathematician; he had been third wrangler at Cambridge, in which university then, as now, great importance was attached to mathematics. But the *Principia* was by no means easy to understand without a guide. Accordingly, Bentley wrote to Newton, and the latter replied in four letters giving directions for the study of the book. These are still extant, and are of extraordinary interest. They are a conspicuous proof of the powers of both the great men concerned. Six of the Boyle Lectures had been printed before the correspondence took place; yet Newton approves of nearly all the arguments which Bentley, alone and unaided, had drawn from the *Principia*. The rapidity with which Bentley, while engaged in many other labors, comprehended a work so abstruse and lying so far outside of his special province is little less than marvelous. It shows that he was no narrow pedant, but a man of broad intelligence and wide sympathies. The Boyle Lectures were published in 1692. They were received with great favor, and still occupy an important place in controversial literature. They also did much to promote the spread of belief in Newton's system as opposed to that of Descartes. The acquaintance thus formed

between Newton and Bentley continued. A letter written by Bentley in 1697 to John Evelyn—author of the Diary—mentions the fact that a small group of friends had arranged to meet in the evening once or twice a week at Bentley's rooms in St. James's. These friends were Isaac Newton, John Locke, Sir Christopher Wren, and John Evelyn. Such a company had not been gathered in England since the days when Shakespeare and his friends met at the Mermaid. Of all their high converse no word is left; but we may be sure that of the hours so passed they might well have said:

> We spent them not in toys or lust or wine,
> But search of deep philosophy,
> Wit, eloquence, and poesy,
> Arts that I loved, for they, my friend, were thine.

In 1692 Bentley opened a correspondence with Johann Georg Grævius, professor at Utrecht, one of the greatest scholars of the time. Grævius was about to edit an edition of the Greek poet Callimachus which his son, who had just died, had left unfinished. Bentley undertook to aid in this task by collecting the fragments of the poet. This he did with conspicuous skill and success. He not only gathered the fragments and emended their text, but showed how lost works could be in part reconstructed from them. In the same year Bentley was made prebendary of Worcester, and in 1694 he was appointed keeper of the Royal Library and a fellow of the Royal Society. In all this the influence of his friend, Bishop Stillingfleet, assisted him. In 1696 Bentley took up his residence at St. James's. He labored earnestly to secure better quarters for the library, and also to secure funds for the Cambridge University Press, which had fallen into neglect.

This brings us to the first great crisis of Bentley's life. There had arisen not long before in France a dispute as to the comparative merits of ancient and modern writers. This controversy was imported into England by Sir William Temple. Temple was a statesman and writer of ability, but had far too little learning to be a fit judge in a question of this kind. However, he espoused the cause of the ancients, and in an essay entitled, "On Ancient and Modern Learning,"

alleged the fables of Æsop and the letters of Phalaris as superior to any modern works of like character. This naturally drew the attention of his readers to the letters of Phalaris, and the scholars of Christ Church College, Oxford, prepared to bring out a new edition of them. The nominal editor was Charles Boyle, a young nobleman of considerable ability and some learning; but he was assisted by some of the older members of the college. In preparing the work he wished to use a manuscript which was in the king's library at St. James's. Accordingly, he wrote to his bookseller, a man named Bennet, asking him to have the manuscript collated. Bentley, who had just taken charge of the Royal Library, sent the manuscript to Bennet and allowed amply sufficient time for it to be collated; but as he himself was about to leave London for some time, he was obliged to demand its return after five or six days had elapsed. The collator had been negligent and had not finished his task; and Bennet, to excuse himself to Boyle, threw the blame upon Bentley, alleging that the manuscript had not been lent long enough to permit a complete collation. Boyle's book appeared in January, 1695, and in the preface he severely reflected upon Bentley for this alleged lack of courtesy. Upon seeing the book Bentley wrote to Boyle explaining the true state of the case and requesting him to suppress the obnoxious passage; but Boyle refused to make the change. In 1697 Bentley's friend William Wotton was preparing a second edition of his *Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning*, in which he took a position in favor of the moderns. Bentley had once promised Wotton to write something about the fables of Æsop and the letters of Phalaris. The latter now reminded him of this promise; and Bentley, who was not the man to let an insult pass unavenged, seized the opportunity. He inserted in Wotton's book an essay in which he stated the truth about the matter of the manuscript, and then reviewed Boyle's book very severely, showing that the letters of Phalaris were forgeries, and handled both Boyle and Sir William Temple without gloves.

The Christ Church men were naturally highly incensed, and resolved to write a reply which should demolish Bentley once for all. There was not a first-class scholar among them, but there were many able men, full of acuteness, wit, and knowledge of the world. Their reply was mainly written by Atterbury and Smalridge, though printed under the name of Boyle. It is a most amusing and remarkable production, keen, witty, and plausible, but superficial to the last degree and full of stupendous blunders. At this day it seems ludicrous that a body of men with scarcely more learning among them than many a bright college senior possesses should dare to attack the first scholar of the age; but Bentley's powers were not yet fully known. The book was received with great favor, and the town rang with laughter and applause. The Christ Church party congratulated themselves that they had "settled the pedant." Garth, in his caricature of Bentley wrote thus:

> When you return to these [letters] again, you feel by the emptiness and deadness of them that you converse with some dreamy pedant with his elbow on his desk, not with an active, ambitious tyrant with his hand on his sword, commanding a million of subjects.

But the Christ Church party were to be undeceived ere long. The lion was but crouching for his spring. Well aware of his own vast superiority to his puny antagonists, Bentley was in no haste to reply. He might in a very few days have refuted their arguments; but he preferred to wait, and to make his answer what Thucydides calls his history—a "possession for all time" (κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί.) "Indeed," he says, "I am in no pain about the matter, for it is a maxim with me that no man was ever written out of reputation but by himself."

The letters of Phalaris, which were the subject of the controversy, are a collection of Greek epistles which purport to have been written by the tyrant Phalaris. This Phalaris, according to the legend, ruled in the city of Agrigentum in southern Sicily, about the middle of the sixth century B. C. He was an able but unscrupulous and ruthless man, and was

for a long time successful, but was finally put to death by his own subjects, who had revolted against him. His name was a synonym for cruelty, and it was related that he burned his prisoners alive in a brazen bull. There may have been some truth in the story, for we find it already mentioned by Pindar. The letters attributed to him are one hundred and forty-eight in number, and are written in Neo-Attic Greek such as begins to appear about the time of Augustus. The time of their composition is unknown, but cannot be earlier than the first century A. D., nor later than the fifth. The contents are not of great value; the letters are merely rhetorical exercises of a rather clever sort, the work of some sophist or rhetorician. Strange to say, Bentley, the student, judged them more accurately than Sir William Temple, the statesman and man of the world. Bentley says, most justly:

> So diamonds owe a luster to their foil,
> And to a Bentley 'tis we owe a Boyle.

Moreover, the letters contain the most glaring anachronisms. They mention towns not founded for centuries after Phalaris is supposed to have reigned. Books are quoted which had not been written in his day. The very language of the epistles is not Doric, as it should be, but is false Attic of a kind that did not exist until Phalaris had been dead over five hundred years. Phalaris complains that the people of Catana had robbed him of seven talents. The sophist clearly had in mind the Attic talent (worth about one thousand dollars), but the Sicilian talent was so small that the loss would have been less than three dollars. Again, the letters are not mentioned by any writer before the fifth century of our era.

These and many other proofs of the spuriousness of the composition Bentley duly pointed out. But he was not content to do this merely. As each topic arises he, with his usual exuberance of learning, makes of it what is practically a concise and epoch-making monograph. In this way he treated the age of Pythagoras, the beginnings of Greek tragedy, anapestic verse, the coinage of Sicily, etc. Considering that he lacked most of the elaborate apparatus which is now

at the command of scholars, the accuracy and thoroughness of his work are simply marvelous. No such scholarly work had ever been seen in England up to that time. The *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris* really marks an epoch in the history of learning. It ushers in the critical era of classical scholarship. The style in which the work is written is often rough, inelegant, and colloquial, but possesses a directness and vigor which are simply tremendous. Take a few examples. The work of Boyle is thus described: "Here are your workmen to mend an author; as bungling tinkers do old kettles; there was but one hole in the text before they meddled with it; but they leave it with two." Of Phalaris: "He gives us some shining metaphors, and a polished period or two; but for the matter of it, it is some common and obvious thought dressed and curled in the beauish way."

The strongest feature of Boyle's book was the wit and sarcasm in which it abounded. But even in this field Bentley showed himself fully a match for his rival. To be sure, his wit is rather of the blunt English variety which knocks one down with a club and stamps on him afterward, while Boyle's is more like a thrust from a keen and polished rapier. But there is a vigorous humor about some of Bentley's retorts that is excellent in its kind. For example, Boyle had complained that Bentley had been uncivil. Says Bentley:

> By the help of a Greek proverb, I call him a downright ass. After I had censured a passage of Mr. Boyle's translation that had no affinity with the original, "This puts me in mind," said I, "of the old Greek proverb, that Leucon carries one thing, and his ass quite another," where the ass is manifestly spoken of the sophist, whom I had before represented as an ass under a lion's skin. And if Mr. B. has such a dearness for his Phalaris that he'll change places with him there, how can I help it? I can only protest that I put him into Leucon's place; and if he will needs compliment himself out of it, I must leave the two friends to the pleasure of their mutual civilities.

It has often been said that the effect of Bentley's reply was immediate and crushing—that when the Jove of critics had hurled his irresistible bolt his adversaries were left writhing in the dust. But it was hardly to be expected that such

would be the case. Truth makes its way but slowly, while error has seven-league boots. Moreover, Boyle had arrayed on his side all the wit and fashion of the day. Hence, although the unanswerableness of Bentley's rejoinder was immediately perceived by those competent to judge, it was long before his victory was fully recognized by the world at large. Swift's *Battle of the Books* was published five years after Bentley's *Dissertation*, yet in that work Swift ridicules Bentley and Wotton, and describes Boyle's supposed triumph over them. It was at least fifty years before the real state of the case was fully acknowledged. It is pleasant to add that both Boyle and Atterbury were in later years on friendly terms with the great critic.

With 1699 begins the second critical period in Bentley's life. In that year the commissioners appointed by King William to have charge of the royal preferments in the Church and the universities nominated Bentley to the vacant mastership of Trinity College, Cambridge. This was a very important post. Trinity was one of the foremost colleges in the university, and had counted among its members men like Newton and Isaac Barrow. The university life of those days was far more narrow and monastic than at present, and the students had much less intercourse with the outside world. The authority of the master was very great, and his salary and perquisites were very considerable. Bentley entered upon his office February 1, 1700, at the age of thirty-eight. He had just married Miss Joanna Bernard, daughter of an English knight of Huntingdonshire. She was a very estimable woman, and proved a true and loving helpmate to her husband. All seemed propitious for Bentley's future career. But the future was destined to be one of storm, not of calm. The fellows of Trinity were a body of easy-going, good-natured men, who enjoyed the pleasant things of life and dwelt in peaceful and harmless idleness. They had little scholarly ambition, and seem to have been inclined to convivial habits. So they lived on from year to year in their little circle, never dreaming how rudely they were to be awak-

ened from their slumber. But Bentley had no mind to leave the college in this state. He had a lofty ideal before him of what a great institution of learning should be, and purposed to bring Trinity up to that ideal at whatever cost. Unfortunately, however, he took the wrong method to accomplish this end. He was naturally strong-willed and arbitrary, and was resolute to be sole ruler of the school. So he worried and fretted them by petty exactions and restrictions, by harsh language, and, worst of all, by cutting down their incomes and appropriating the money to the uses of the college. He called eminent scholars to posts in the institution, rebuilt and refitted the chapel, laid out and beautified portions of the grounds, and in short furthered the interests of scholarship and science to the best of his ability. But in the meantime the fellows were becoming restive under his harsh treatment. It was nearly eight years before they dared to make head against him; but in 1709 things came to such a pass that a rupture was inevitable. Bentley had brought forward a scheme for redistributing the income of the college, by which the income of the fellows would be lessened, while his own was somewhat increased. The fellows, under the leadership of one of their number named Miller, an able lawyer, made head against the plan. There was a violent scene between Bentley and the senior fellows, at the end of which the master strode from the room exclaiming, "Henceforward, farewell peace to Trinity College." The words were prophetic; peace abandoned those walls for thirty years.

To go through all the mazes of that long and stubborn conflict would be wearisome and unprofitable; but, in short, after many evasions and delays Bentley was finally brought for trial before the Bishop of Ely, the visitor of the university. Bishop Moore was kindly disposed to Bentley, but the accusers had a strong case. There can be no doubt that Bentley had exceeded his powers. One day the bishop from his place as judge spoke in censure of Bentley's conduct. This was too much for even Bentley's iron will. He fell in a faint. The trial lasted six weeks. But just as a judgment was about to

be pronounced Bishop Moore died. It was a narrow escape for Bentley. A sentence removing him from the mastership was found among the bishop's papers. The next day came the death of Queen Anne, and amid the political turmoil which ensued the troubles at Trinity College were lost sight of for a time. The new Bishop of Ely was reluctant to interfere unless he could act as general visitor of the college, with power to do justice on all alike. Bentley's enemies then brought a petition before the privy council to ascertain who was the lawful general visitor. This petition was presented by Sergeant Miller. Bentley now induced Miller for a consideration in money to withdraw the petition. From this time for a number of years no direct effort to eject Bentley from his mastership was made; but he fought a number of suits against individuals, and won most of them. In 1717, in spite of strong opposition, Bentley was appointed to the regius professorship of divinity; but in 1718 he was deprived of all his degrees by the senate of the university. When the sentence of deprivation was reported to him he said, "I have weathered many a worse storm than this."

This deprivation was clearly illegal and unjust, and in 1724 it was reversed by the court of King's Bench, and his degrees were restored to him. Thus after fifteen years' warfare he still retained his position, while his power and income had actually increased. But the end was not yet. The ablest of his enemies, a Dr. Colbatch, revived the struggle. After long litigation the House of Lords was finally appealed to, and empowered the Bishop of Ely to try Bentley on the charges preferred against him. In 1733 the trial began, and on April 27, 1734, the bishop gave judgment, pronouncing Bentley guilty of dilapidating the college goods and violating its statutes; and he was condemned to be deprived of the mastership. But the indomitable man was not yet beaten. It so happened that the statutes provided that a sentence of deprivation of the mastership should be carried out through the agency of the vice master. The person who was then vice master, being unwilling to assume the responsibility, re-

signed, and his place was filled by Dr. Walker, a firm friend of Bentley. The new vice master flatly refused to carry out the sentence, and all legal means to compel him to do so ignominiously failed. Bentley was thus left master of the situation, and continued to rule as absolutely as ever. This ended the main controversy, though Bentley amused himself by suing his enemy Colbatch for certain dues, and won the suit. Thus he had the last word in the conflict.

As to the question of right involved in this "thirty years' war," there has been much dispute. No doubt Bentley did many things which were harsh and in excess of his powers; still, his aim seems to have been on the whole a just one. Dr. Parr long afterward expressed the opinion that Bentley was right and the college wrong. Dr. Jebb, his most recent biographer, holds that Bentley was most to blame; but we think he is on the whole too severe. There is reliable evidence that Bentley found the fellows of Trinity a somewhat disorderly and riotous body; and though he did many things that cannot be justified, there can be no doubt that a considerable degree of severity on his part was absolutely necessary. There was wrong on both sides, but our sympathy must be with the man who was trying to realize his ideal of scholarship rather than with the gentlemen who aimed to live at ease in Zion, untroubled by thoughts of what a university should be.

Bentley lived about four years after his victory. He died of fever, July 14, 1742, at the age of more than eighty years. He was buried in the chapel of Trinity College, where a small square stone in the pavement still marks the spot. His picture, by Thornhill, hangs on the wall in the hall of the college, with those of many other celebrated men, among them Bacon, Barrow, and Newton. Bentley's portrait is a most striking one. Professor Jebb says:

> The pose of the head is haughty, almost defiant. The eyes, which are large, prominent, and full of bold vivacity, have a light in them as if Bentley were looking straight at an impostor whom he had detected, but who still amused him; the nose, strong and slightly tip-tilted, is molded as if nature had wished to show what a nose can do for the combined expression of scorn and sagacity;

and the general effect of the countenance, at a first glance, is one that suggests power—frank, self-assured, sarcastic, and, I fear we must add, insolent. Yet standing a little longer before the picture, we become aware of an essential kindness in those eyes of which the gaze is so direct and intrepid; we read in the whole face a certain keen veracity; and the sense grows, this was a man who could hit hard, but who would not strike a foul blow, and whose ruling instinct, whether always a sure guide or not, was to pierce through falsities to truth.

Bentley's physique was powerful and imposing; he was tall and strongly built, and his powers of endurance were exceptionally great. Indeed, his whole physical make-up corresponded marvelously to his mental characteristics.

We turn now to that which has given Bentley his title to enduring fame—his work as a critic. As all know, the text of many of the classic authors has come down to us in a very corrupt and imperfect state. In most cases the text has been copied again and again, until the oldest manuscripts that have come down to us are many, many removes from the original. Now, it is practically impossible for the most careful scribe to copy a manuscript of any considerable length without making some mistakes. But when we take into account the fact that many of the scribes were ignorant men who did not understand what they were writing and merely copied mechanically what lay before them, it is easy to see that mistakes, and numerous ones, were inevitable. Add to this the ravages of decay, moths, and worms, the fading of the ink, and many other causes which have tended to injure the manuscripts, and it is plain that the text must have greatly suffered with the lapse of time. Indeed, the condition of classical texts before the advent of scientific criticism reminds one of a dense forest, full of stately trees, but overgrown with all manner of unsightly creepers and fungi, and with here and there dense and tangled thickets that scarcely admit the light of day into their dim recesses. To clear away this noxious and hideous growth and reveal the classics in their true and perfect form is the work of the critic. To be great he must have a thorough knowledge of the style and diction of the authors whom he undertakes to emend or edit; he must

have a powerful memory, so that he can remember passages from other authors that may throw light on the difficulty; he must have a thorough knowledge of manuscripts and of the manifold forms of corruption to which they are liable; and he must possess a fine literary sense, which will enable him not to violate by his corrections the canons of good taste. Bentley had all these gifts; but, above all, he had that power of deep insight—one might almost call it divination—which enabled him to go at once to the root of the difficulty. He had also in an almost unparalleled degree the power of combination, which enabled him to bring together facts drawn from widely separated sources and draw from them the unerring inference as to the true reading.

A great verbal critic is born, not made. A peculiar turn of mind, not wholly unlike that which enables some men to solve the most difficult cryptograms or the most abstruse mathematical problems, is necessary. But this is by no means all. Almost every scholar who has done anything in the line of text-criticism becomes interested and fascinated by it. There is something of the charm about it which attaches to the study of difficult and complicated puzzles. Anyone who tries and has the necessary practice can make conjectures as good as many that have been printed. But to make certain conjectures is given to but few. A scholar who can make half a dozen is exceptionally fortunate. But Bentley made hundreds that are perfectly certain, as well as many that are only plausible, and not a few that are certainly wrong. It may be said that there are two great classes of conjectural critics; the one preferring to take the "high *a priori* road," and boldly declare from their knowledge of the meaning of the passage, the genius of the language, and the style of the author that he must have written thus and so, and cannot have written otherwise. Among the great masters of this style of criticism are Bentley and Porson, and in more modern times Cobet. The other class are those who by careful and painstaking comparison of the manuscripts' readings and by collecting numerous parallel passages draw an infer-

ence as to the true reading. A good example of this class is Professor Jebb. Critics of the first class are apt to be more brilliant, but to make numerous mistakes; those of the second class must work more slowly, and have far less opportunity to display genius, but their work is perhaps more likely to abide. Bentley belonged to both; he is preeminently a critic of the *a priori* school, but he also understood how to apply the other method with extraordinary success.

Of the letter to Mill and the *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris* we have already spoken. Although during most of the last forty years of his life Bentley was engaged in incessant lawsuits, yet he did not relax his scholarly activity. Such was his power of will that he could throw aside the cares and anxieties of his position and concentrate the whole power of his mind upon his beloved classics. During the last forty years of his life he published a collection of the fragments of Callimachus, emendations on Menander and Philemon, his celebrated edition of Horace and the scarcely less famous one of Terence, his revision of Milton's "Paradise Lost," and his edition of Manilius—all of them (excepting the Milton) epoch-making works. But this is by no means all. Numerous notes contributed by Bentley were published during edition of Manilius—all of them (excepting the Milton) more were published from his manuscripts after his death. Besides these, he wrote and delivered many sermons, and published many controversial books and pamphlets, some relating to the troubles of Trinity College, others dealing with religious questions. What might he not have accomplished had he been able to devote his energies solely to the cause of classical learning? Next to the *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris* his best-known work is probably his Horace, which was published in 1711. He had been working on it at intervals ever since 1702, thus carrying out Horace's own rule that a work should not be published until the ninth year (*nonum prematur in annum*). It displays in their fullness his extraordinary knowledge of Latin poetry and meter, but also shows characteristic weaknesses. Bentley proposes

nearly eight hundred changes in the text, of which a considerable number have been approved and adopted by succeeding critics; but the great majority of them are not found in our modern texts. He argues with great force and clearness, but reasons too much from the standpoint of mere literal accuracy. Any poet, if the tests of clear syntax, strict logic, and formal usage are applied to his works, will show irregularities and inconsistencies; and these are not to be emended or explained away. Bentley trusted too much to his own faculty of divination, and stated his conclusions far too positively. Still, the book is a monument of learning, and proved a great stimulus to Horatian scholarship. There is that quality of originality about all that Bentley wrote that makes him more instructive when he is wrong than weaker critics are even when they are in the right.

In 1726 Bentley's Terence appeared. This is one of his chief titles to fame. Even in the time of Cicero the meters of Terence occasioned difficulty; and Priscian, who wrote about 500 A. D., tells us that in his time many persons denied that the Terentian plays were written in verse at all. The mediæval scholars were baffled by the problem, and Bentley was the first who undertook to solve it in a really scientific way. In an introductory essay on the Terentian meters he gave in less than twenty pages hints which enabled later scholars, such as Ritschl and Fleckersin, to restore almost in their entirety the many complicated forms of verse which are found in the Plautine and Terentian plays. In this essay he proposed the famous anacrustic theory. He divided the plays into lines according to their respective kinds of verse, and, in short, brought order out of the chaos into which the text of Terence had fallen. He also made numerous and brilliant emendations, showing himself more cautious and conservative than he had been in editing Horace. He corrected the text in about a thousand places, and though he left many blemishes, and though not all of his suggestions have been generally accepted, his edition marks a prodigious advance upon its predecessors. He is "the pioneer of metrical

knowledge as applied to the Latin drama." Less important, though a very scholarly performance, is his edition of Manilius, which appeared in 1739. Manilius lived in the Augustan age, and wrote an epic on astronomy and astrology. His poem is not one of the most familiar classics, but is of sufficient interest to have been commented on in more recent times by the great English scholar Robinson Ellis.

Bentley also turned his attention to Homer. In 1713 he published "Remarks" on the *Discourse of Free-thinking* by Anthony Collins. Collins had asserted that Homer designed his poem for eternity, to please and to instruct mankind. But Bentley says:

> Take my word for it, poor Homer in those circumstances and early times, had never such aspiring thoughts. He wrote a sequel of songs and rhapsodies, to be sung by himself for small earnings and good cheer, at festivals and other days of merriment; the "Iliad" he made for the men, and the "Odysseis" for the other sex. These loose songs were not collected together in the form of an epic poem until Pisistratus's time, above five hundred years after.

Here we have in a few words the germ of the theory which in the hands of F. A. Wolf and Lachmann was destined to lead to such important results. But the most important contribution which Bentley made to Homeric criticism was the restoration of the digamma. The ancient writers in a number of passages mentioned a letter which once existed in the Greek alphabet but had fallen into disuse. This letter resembled in shape our capital F, and was called digamma because it looked like two gammas, one superposed upon the other. Now, Bentley noticed that in certain cases in Homer a word ending in a vowel often stands before one beginning with a vowel without suffering elision. By prefixing the lost digamma to the second word the difficulty would be removed. Bentley, as was natural, pushed his discovery too far, and wished to insert the digamma in many places where it should not stand. "Ghost of a vanished letter which fitfully haunts its ancient seats" (Jebb). His theory aroused much ridicule, and Pope satirized it in the following lines ("Dunciad"):

> Roman and Greek grammarians know your better,
> Author of something yet more great than letter;
> While tow'ring o'er your alphabet, like Saul,
> Stands our digamma, and o'ertops them all.

But though Bentley went too far, scholars are now universally agreed that his restoration of the digamma was one of his most brilliant discoveries, and in this, as in many other matters, he was far in advance of his age.

We come now to one of the most important works undertaken by Bentley—his projected edition of the New Testament. From his early manhood he had been interested in the critical study of the biblical text, and had himself collated the Alexandrine manuscript, which was in the Royal Library. At what time he definitely decided to edit the New Testament is not known, but it was probably about 1716. It is said that the idea was first suggested to him by a Dutch scholar named Wetstein, who himself afterward edited the New Testament. In April, 1716, Bentley announced his intention to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who seems to have favored the plan. For the next four years Bentley continued to gather materials, aided by Wetstein and John Walker. In 1620 the great critic published his *Proposals for Printing*, in which he stated the principles which he would follow in constituting the text. He was planning to obtain by comparison of the oldest manuscripts as perfect a text of the Latin Vulgate as possible; then by comparing this with the text of the oldest Greek manuscripts he hoped to reconstruct the text as it existed at the time of the Council of Nice (325 A. D.). He would employ also other versions (the Peshito, Coptic, Gothic, and Ethiopic) and the citations by the early Greek and Latin fathers. The money for defraying the expenses of publication was to be raised by public subscription, and over two thousand pounds was actually subscribed for that purpose. Bentley declared himself extremely conservative in regard to the Scripture text. Here he was no longer an *a priori* critic, but proceeded with the utmost caution. He promised not to alter one letter in the text on purely con-

jectural grounds. For at least twelve years longer Bentley continued to labor at this gigantic task; but he never brought it to completion. His time was to a great extent occupied by lawsuits, and his health was growing feeble; but it is probable also that he saw that he had not sufficient data for the satisfactory solution of textual problems. He left his materials at his death to his nephew, Richard Bentley, and the latter left them to Trinity College, where they have since been preserved. They show an enormous amount of labor, and prove also that he was as conservative in dealing with the biblical text as he had been bold in dealing with that of the classical authors. The time had not yet come for a satisfactory edition of the New Testament. The manuscript material was only imperfectly known; Bentley had used the Codex Alexandrinus, and the Codex Vaticanus was collated for him; but the Codex Sinaiticus was not yet known to Western scholars, and the other great uncial codex, the Codex Ephraemi, he seems to have undervalued. But he inaugurated a new era in New Testament criticism by appealing from the *textus receptus* to the oldest manuscripts and in laying great stress upon the consent between the Latin version and the Greek manuscripts. In short, in this field, as in many others, he was a century in advance of his age.

Of Bentley's edition of "Paradise Lost" little need be said. It was undertaken at the suggestion of Queen Caroline, and is a curious monument of the frailty of human judgment. Bentley sets up the hypothesis that Milton's amanuensis in writing down the poem from the blind bard's lips made many mistakes and slips, and that afterward some friend of Milton edited the poem and grossly corrupted and depraved the text. Hence Bentley proceeds to emend "Paradise Lost" much as he did Horace or Terence. The changes are mostly in the direction of formal and prosaic accuracy; and Bentley has succeeded singularly in taking all the poetry out of many fine passages. Pope said that he "humbled Milton's strains," and spoke of "slashing Bentley with his desperate hook." In justice to him, however, it must be said that the book was

written in great haste, and that the field was an exceedingly unfavorable one for the display of his talents. He lived in an age which had not a taste for the Miltonic style, which loved the precise, pointed, and clear rather than the grand and lofty, and he was biased by the temper of the age. Moreover, it is not probable that he ever would have undertaken the task had not the queen requested him to do so. Indeed, in his preface he begs the reader to note that he has prepared the edition not without orders from his superiors.

Bentley's English style is most peculiar and characteristic. He does not use the stately periods so common at that time; his sentences are short, clear, and pointed, often strongly colloquial; yet when he pleases there is a great measure of dignity about them. They show that power of going straight to the root of the matter which is the keynote of his character. He prefers words of Latin origin; yet his style is rarely pedantic, and, when he pleases, no one can use the plain Anglo-Saxon words more effectively. He is somewhat careless of grammar, and his style is occasionally disfigured by Latinisms; but in this respect he is not more careless than most writers of his time. "At his best he is, in his own way, matchless; at his worst he is sometimes rough or clumsy; but he is never weak, and never anything else than natural."

In speaking of Bentley's life we have necessarily emphasized the harsher traits of his character. But he was not really harsh or cruel at heart. Many anecdotes of him are recorded which tend to prove this. His grandson tells us that when he in his childhood strayed into Bentley's study the great scholar would lay down his pen and try to amuse the little boy by showing him pictures. Once a burglar was caught stealing Bentley's plate. The local commissary wanted to send him to jail; but Bentley interfered, and after administering such a reproof and admonition as he alone could give had the offender set at liberty. Bentley, though not prodigal, was by no means avaricious, and did not leave a large fortune. He lived in proper style and entertained liberally, but made no vain or extravagant display of luxury.

He often acted in a haughty and dictatorial way; but this is, no doubt, partly due to the hardships and humiliations of his youth. It is said that on one occasion he kept the Earl of Thomond and Bishop of Norwich waiting for a long time before he deigned to notice either of them. Pope, in the fourth book of the "Dunciad," twits him on his pride:

> Before them marched that awful Aristarch;
> Plowed was his front with many a deep remark.
> His hat, which never vail'd to human pride,
> Walker with reverence took and laid aside.

And, after all, was not his pride justified? When he faced haughty noblemen with a pride still more inflexible than theirs, and scarcely bowed before royalty itself, he was but teaching the world what it had for a time forgotten, that not birth nor wealth nor rank nor social influence combined can make a scholar; that there is an aristocracy of learning as exclusive as any aristocracy of wealth or descent. He was ever most ready to express the deepest veneration for true scholarship, and was most kind in advising and assisting young scholars. If in examining a student he found him confused and frightened, he did not proceed to crush him with the whole weight of his learning, but tried by questioning him gently and by explaining difficulties to restore his presence of mind. As a husband and father his conduct was exemplary, and his private life seems to have been spotless. (He learned to smoke at the age of seventy.)

Bentley was something of a wit. Like nearly all men in his time, he drank wine, and is reported to have said of claret that "it would be port if it could." His remark about Pope's Homer, "A pretty poem, Mr. Pope, but you must not call it Homer," is familiar. Once an alleged atheist, a fellow of the college, was brought before him for trial. On seeing the accused Bentley exclaimed, "What, is that the atheist? I expected to have seen a man as big as Burrough the beadle!" During his lawsuits he sometimes gave passages suitable to the occasion to his students as subjects for themes; so when deposed from the mastership of Trinity he assigned Terence,

"Eunuchus," 2, 2, 44: "You say that I have been kicked out; look you, there are ups and downs in all things."

Such was this great man, to quote his own words, "no dreaming pedant with his elbow on his desk," but a man of action. He would have been eminent in any walk of life. Clergyman and student as he was, he taught the ablest lawyers of England that there was more in English law than had been dreamed of in their philosophy. As a mathematician he won the praise of Newton; as a preacher and sermonizer he held a conspicuous place. John Evelyn, no mean judge, says of one of his sermons, "This was one of the most learned and convincing discourses I had ever heard;" and in *Tristram Shandy* Sterne makes Corporal Trim listen to a discourse of his on Popery, and represents him as profoundly impressed by it. As a critic Bentley stands alone among English scholars. Probably no man who ever lived had such a power of penetrating through serious corruptions of the text and divining the true readings which lay beneath them. Great scholars there had been before him; Poggio and Politian, Casaubon and Salmasius, the Scaligers and the Vossiuses; but he was the first to really go beneath the surface and lay the foundation upon which classical scholarship must rest, a sound and accurate text. *"Princeps criticorum"* is the title which both his own countrymen and the great German scholars have loved to apply to him, and never was distinction more justly merited. Moreover, he was one who loved truth for truth's sake; who feared no danger and shrunk from no contest in its behalf. He was by nature militant; the epitaph which Professor Boch wrote for Ferdinand Lassalle, the German socialist leader, might have been written for him, *"Hier ruht ein Denker und Fechter"*—"Here lies a thinker and fighter."

H. W. Hayley.

Art. IV.—THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE CITY.

Cities are the storm centers of modern civilization. They always have been, and are to-day more than ever, the strategic points, the home of dominating forces. The invading army plans first to capture the cities of the enemy. The fall of Babylon meant the end of the empire of Nebuchadnezzar's son. Rome made the imperial power that was called by her name. The capture of Paris was the humiliation of France. Vicksburg was the key to the Mississippi. The destruction of Montojo's fleet and the capture of Manila placed an entire archipelago under the stars and stripes. London controls the commerce and commercial quotations of the world. New York elects not only its own mayor, but also the governor of the Empire State. The vote of the cities determines the destiny of political parties and aspiring candidates. The system which cannot capture and hold cities cannot dominate the world.

The expansion of urban population is one of the terrors as well as the marvels of the present half-century. In 1790 one thirtieth of the population of the United States lived in cities of 8,000 inhabitants and over. At present the 443 cities of the size indicated furnish nearly one third of the population of the United States. Dr. Strong in his *New Era* declares that if the relative growth of city and country population continues as now until 1920 the cities of the United States will contain 10,000,000 more people than the country. Nor is this marvelous growth of cities peculiar to the United States. Many German cities are increasing in population faster than those of this country. From 1870 to 1890 Berlin grew more rapidly than New York; Hamburg than Boston; Leipsic than Baltimore; Munich than St. Louis; and Breslau than Cincinnati. One third of the Netherlands now live in cities containing more than 12,000 inhabitants, while in England and Scotland the

change from rural to urban conditions has been all but revolutionary.

This phenomenal growth of urban population would not be alarming if the character of the massed forces were normal. But the fact is that in the cities we find, in largest proportion, the elements which constitute a menace to civilization. Mr. H. M. Boise in his work on *Prisoners and Paupers* says that in 1850 there was in the United States one criminal to every 3,500 inhabitants, while in 1890 there was one to every 786. The secret of this increase is to be found in the rapid growth of our urban population where the saloons, which are responsible for seventy-five per cent of all crime, are grouped; for, while 345 cities contain but twenty-seven per cent of the population, they furnish ninety per cent of the criminals of the entire country It is in the city that the rum power has the strongest hold and does its deadliest work. The 443 cities which furnish a little less than one third of the population of the entire country contain a very large proportion of all the saloons. The latest statistics at hand reveal the fact that Chicago has one saloon for every 284 people; New York, one for every 200; Cleveland, one for every 192; Cincinnati, one for every 124. These saloons are the fountain-heads of pauperism, the secret sources of ignorance, the promoters of all forms of impurity, the enemies of all good government and honest citizenship. Closely associated with the saloon are found the billiard and pool room, the Sunday theater, the gambling den, and every other monster evil which preys upon society and ruins souls.

In the cities alone is found what is called the slum population. This element is not, at the present time, as marked and degrading in American cities as in those of the Old World, nor yet in small as in large ones. But the submerged portion of our population is forever on the increase with the growth of great cities. It is estimated that the slum population of Chicago is not far from 170,000, while that of New York at the present time is somewhat in excess of 365,000. And it must be remembered that the slum district

is the natural home of those elements that are antagonistic to Christian civilization. In 1894 the Commissioner of Labor gave an elaborate report concerning the slum districts in several cities where careful investigation had been made. The report shows that in the sections in question the saloon was twice as numerous, the percentage of crime three times, and that of illiteracy four times as great as in the same cities taken as a whole.

It is in the city that the tenement house problem is found, the sweat-shop evil, and almost the whole foreign population which is antagonistic to our civilization and an enemy to American institutions and the Church. It is in the city that we have the severest clash between capital and labor. Here the extremes of poverty are massed and wealth congested, here the tides of worldiness run highest, and here are found the vast hordes who live by luring others to ruin. It is also here that the conditions and environments exist which tend constantly to brutalize humanity. The division between classes and classes, the lack of neighborliness, the long hours that must be spent in business, the frigidity of the social and even the religious atmosphere, the awful pressure to which everybody is exposed, the misery and nervous strain consequent on competition, make the city a great sea that swallows up countless thousands coming to it from Christian homes and home churches in smaller places.

The problem of religious life in the city is one of overwhelming importance. It cannot be solved until the Church of Jesus Christ arouses herself, studies the situation, changes front, and does vastly more than she is doing to-day. Taking it for granted that the Methodist Episcopal Church represents more than an average of the evangelizing forces of the country, and we are scarcely "holding the fort" in the cities. We are indebted to *The Christian City* for the following statistics: In Baltimore, Boston, Brooklyn, Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and St. Louis, Methodism lost, from 1897 to 1899, 1,450 members, and that too while the population of these cities is increasing at a tremendous rate.

During the same years there was a net loss of 1,251 members in 79 cities, located east of the western line of New York and Pennsylvania. In 149 cities of the United States, containing each over 20,000 inhabitants, there has been a net gain in membership during the past year of only 1,103, which is at the ratio of one fourth of one per cent. The actual gain is only one member for every 412 communicants. Of the 149 cities named above 76 report a gain and 73 a loss of membership. During 1899, 78 cities located east of the western line of Pennsylvania and New York reported a net loss of 1,897. These same cities made a net gain of 646 full members during 1898. Failure to command the situation in our cities has thus resulted in the losses which are everywhere deplored. Methodism has not kept pace with the growth of urban population under most favorable conditions. The percentage of increase in the cities during the last ten years has been considerably below that of the Church taken as a whole. And it must be borne in mind that thousands upon thousands of our membership have removed from their old homes in town and country to swell the numbers of our hosts in the cities. The cities have received everything and given nothing, and yet the tide of population sweeps on in advance of us. In all of our large cities we see, year after year, churches retiring from the down-town districts, leaving these densely populated centers to the control of these forces that make for unrighteousness, which have been more and more fully massed in them. One city can be named in which there is a district containing over 350,000 people from which every Protestant church except one, in which services are conducted in the English language, has been removed. In every great city there are vast districts in which very little is being done to capture the storm centers. Where the battle should be the hottest we find the least activity. If we cannot do more in the future than has been done in the past and is being done at the present time, the beginning of the end is at hand. We are persuaded that more can and will be done to win the battle of the ages for Christ and humanity.

We have now come to the most difficult part of our study. It is much easier to discover Darkest England or Darkest Chicago than it is to find the way out. Every thoughtful student must be impressed and oppressed by the facts we have recognized. But who shall say what ought to be done to win the victory, and then inspire the Church to do it? Some suggestions, however, may be valuable. If the problem of religious life in the city is to be solved there must be a great revival of interest in it. Indifference is the curse of the age. It is especially true that in the cities our Christian business men are worn out with the pressure of intense commercial life. With a great majority the cares of the world, the quest of riches, the sharpness of competition, the overmastering demands of business and society, have so engrossed and absorbed them as to leave no time or energy to help toward the coming of the kingdom. Our Christian people have hardly realized that there is a problem of religious life in the city, to say nothing at all of having made an honest attempt to solve it. A few here and there have come to understand the situation and have been all but overwhelmed by it. The children of the kingdom, as a whole, must somehow be aroused to a realization of the great fact that we are to-day fighting the Gettysburg of the ages.

The problem of religious life in the city cannot be solved without a great and far-reaching revival of religion. We believe in education in the public school, in Church schools, and in great colleges and universities controlled by the State or founded by the generosity of private individuals. We believe in art galleries, and in their ennobling influence. We believe in circulating libraries for the people of all classes and conditions. We believe in free dispensaries, free hospitals, free bath houses, and cheap lodging houses for the unfortunate. We believe in the tenement house reform, and in all efforts to secure better environments. But, while these are efficient, they will not be found to be sufficient, if there is not a mighty religious spirit behind them. The most corrupt ages have been those of most enlightenment and culture. It

was Pentecost that made a new world possible at the beginning of our era. It will be another and continued Pentecost that will save our cities and our civilization from ruin.

There is possibly no man in America who has studied more deeply the problem of municipal need than has Professor Ely. Some time ago he delivered an address before the Evangelical Alliance upon "The Needs of the City." In the course of that address he said:

> One of the needs of the city is a profound revival of religion, not in any narrow or technical sense, but in the broadest, largest, fullest sense. A great religious awakening which shall shake things, going down into the depths of men's lives and modifying their character. The city needs religion and without religion the salvation of the city is impossible.

Professor Ely is right. There must be a revival of religion. It must, however, be broad, deep, comprehensive, and transforming. There must be a revival of conscience; men must be brought face to face with God and duty. There must be a revival of honesty; men must be made to feel that if one can pay his debts and will not he cannot be a Christian. There must be a revival of Christlike sympathy; the great dying world, the unchurched masses, rich as well as poor, must be made to feel that we do care for them. The time has passed when we can build churches and expect the people to fill them without more than ordinary effort on our part, but back of all effort there must be a great tide-wave of Christlike sympathy. Without it any and all effort will be useless; with it no effort can fail. There must be a revival of preaching; the pulpit must make its appeal more fully and constantly to the consciences of men. The problem of religious life in the city cannot be solved by sentiment and sensational methods. The people must be instructed in the great doctrines of righteousness; and the Church must make up its mind to stand by the preacher who tries to do it. These have been days of restlessness and anxiety. It has happened too many times that official boards and other governing bodies of the Church have been content to leave the greater

part of the work to the preacher. A man must be secured who will draw, no matter what his methods may be. It has been easier to change preachers than it has been to arouse the Church to do its share of the work. There must be a revival that will stir the Church to its uttermost depths, until every Christian is willing to do his part, plan for the years, and await results. There must be a revival of liberality. The problem of religious life in the city can never be solved and the world can never be redeemed and brought to the feet of Jesus Christ while the great mass of Christian men and women give on the scale which governs them at present. It is probable that not more than fifteen per cent of the membership of our churches are giving regularly and systematically one tenth of their income. If God required the Jew, under the dispensation of exclusiveness, to give one tenth for the Lord's cause, can he require less of the Christian under the dispensation of expansion, when the world is to be reached and redeemed? The problem cannot be solved without a great revival of liberality. There must be a revival of life in harmony with the Golden Rule, as well as the great revival of righteousness. The world must be made to see by the testimony of living witnesses that the Church stands upon the Ten Commandments, the Golden Rule, and the Sermon on the Mount. The need of the city, of the country, of modern civilization, is the deepest, broadest, profoundest revival of spiritual religion the world has ever seen. With it all can be saved; without it all will be doomed. With it we shall have power to operate all needed machinery; without it our machinery itself will be our ruin.

The problem of religious life in the city will be solved only as the Church resorts to the method followed by our Saviour. He said, "Go out into the highways and hedges;" "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." The sublime command of the Gospel is Go. We have been acting under the inspiration of another word. We have said, "Come." We have built our churches and decorated them, have stationed our preachers in our pulpits and our choirs

in our galleries, have prepared our services, and have said, "Come thou with us, and we will do thee good." Some have come. Countless thousands have chosen to remain in the highways and hedges. We must go after them and win them to the Good Shepherd. The city cannot be saved until churches and individuals feel, and act upon the conviction, that they are responsible for something more than the cultivation of the small patch of territory about their religious home. Every strong church ought to have and to support one or more missions in the districts that would go uncared for otherwise. In every large church there are scores who are dying spiritually because they have nothing to do, or because they will do nothing. They ought to teach in the mission schools of their own and weaker churches. They ought to become a part of a great volunteer army, who, under the direction of their own church, or of the leaders of a great Christian federation, should become visitors to the poor and needy, the suffering and sorrowing, the sinning and dying in those districts over which the black wave has already begun to roll.

A strong central and all-inclusive organization whose business it shall be to plan to capture the strategic centers and to plant churches and missions in the midst of the great unchurched population will help wonderfully in the solution of the problem with which we are dealing. The trend of individual family churches is away from the congested centers. There are vast districts swarming with an immense population for whose evangelization no one in particular seems to be responsible. These neglected districts are centers of greatest danger. They must be cared for. The saving power of Christianity must be brought to bear upon them. The family church is not sufficient for these things. The University Settlement, the Guild, the independent mission, and such organizations can do something, but not everything. A great, energetic, well-supported, strongly manned missionary society is the supreme need of the hour. We have called attention to the fact that 149 cities of the United States gained

in one year only one fourth of one per cent. Ten among the largest of these can be named which from 1884 to 1894 not only kept pace with the growth of the population, but exceeded it by twenty-two per cent. And it is a significant fact that in each of these ten cities there is a vigorous City Missionary and Church Extension Society. That is the strongest argument for such an organization that can possibly be made. Chicago is, in some respects, one of the most difficult fields on the continent, yet Methodism has there gained seventy-four per cent during the past eight years. But let it be remembered that Chicago has a City Missionary Society which has built, or helped to build, ninety churches in which are gathered to-day ten seventeenths of the entire Methodist membership of that city. If it had not been for the grand work of this society Chicago Methodism would be far behind the advanced position it now occupies.

The problem of religious life in the city demands new methods to meet the new emergencies. Many have maintained that we have machinery enough, and have declared that all that was needed was a great spiritual awakening and the work would be done. This conclusion does not give us the last word of wisdom. A great spiritual revival did come under the preaching of the Wesleys, but does anybody think that the results which have been secured would have been secured if Wesley and his followers had clung to the old methods, polity, and machinery of the Church in which he was reared? The new wine needed new bottles. Wesley and his followers had sense enough to develop a new polity and machinery to serve as a channel for the revival spirit which pervaded the Church. To-day we stand face to face with new conditions because of the rapidly developing and constantly multiplying urban population. These new conditions call for new departures, new methods, new machinery. One might as well say that one hundred wells, with the old-fashioned bucket and sweep, could supply the city of Chicago with water as to think that the old "rural methods" of a hundred years ago will be adequate for the age and conditions

which confront us in our great cities at the present time. We must not be afraid of new methods, and we must not make the mistake of trying to run every church, no matter what its location, on the same plan. There are sections in every great city where nothing but a mighty "institutional" or open church can do the work. It must be advertised. It must be made attractive. It must become the center of social, intellectual, and sometimes of physical, as well as spiritual life. We are compelled to believe that the Church is losing its hold upon the great masses of the people in the storm centers to an alarming extent. Something must be done to close the gulf between the Church and the masses and win the confidence of those who have, in some measure, misunderstood the Church and are out of sympathy with it. We must develop all of those institutions which reveal Christlike sympathy and gain the confidence of the people. The kindergarten, the kitchen garden, the roof garden church in downtown districts, during the hot summer months, the summer garden church, the Gospel tent, the free dispensary, the free hospital, the museum, the gymnasium, the reading room, the free bath house, and a score of other institutions all have their place, and if rightly used will help to gain the confidence of the people of those localities where they are operated.

It is possible that the problem of religious life in the cities will never be sucessfully solved until there is a Christian federation which will have authority and power enough to swing all the Christian forces into line for a united effort in a common cause. This is an age of consolidation, concentration, and cooperation. This concentration and cooperation are intended to prevent waste and to control the situation. The Christian Church ought to operate under the inspiration of this idea. We are not pleading for organic union, or for anything that approximates it, but for unity of individual segregations such as will make possible the utmost cooperation. The day has passed when great Protestant denominations should fight each other as if belonging to hostile camps, or even wage warfare against the common foe in sections so

separated and divided, so independent and inharmonious, as to make mutual helpfulness impossible. Such a federation is possible to-day because the age of theological warfare is ended and the era of Christlike service is at hand.

The New York Federation of Churches has shown that such a union could do a grand work in every city. Under the direction of a great Christian federation the entire city could be visited as is possible in no other way. There are sections in every city where one can go and work in the name of Christ though nothing could be done in the name of Methodism. This work was done in New York on the broadest lines of Gospel operation. A calendar was printed and left in every home which contained full information concerning churches, industrial schools, free kindergartens, free dispensaries, free hospitals, libraries, museums, saving banks, and other institutions in which the people ought to be interested. The friendly aid visitor will win the hearts of men and women. The people in the storm centers who are away from Christ and out of sympathy with the church must be reached by the power of Christlike service. Such a federation could prevent the massing of churches in districts so that some would be overcrowded and others absolutely neglected. But above all things it would serve as a bond of union and make possible vigorous and combined work that could not otherwise be done. In union there is power. The federation might inspire a united action for the closing of Sunday saloons, Sunday theatres, and other places that are exerting a demoralizing influence. It might turn the attention of the people as one man toward the great problems that ought to engage the attention of the Christian world. It might thus secure the enactment of desirable laws, the enforcement of laws that already exist, the united consideration of the tenement house problem, the slum district problem, the sweat-shop problem, and others which must be solved. The reasons why the saloon is respected by politicians and feared by great political parties is because the men engaged in the rum traffic have learned how to stand and work together. The forces of evil

are united. They stand and work together. They will fall together. The children of the kingdom ought to be as wise in this generation as the children of darkness. There must be union, cooperation, and concentration before the kingdom of God can come with power.

The problem of religious life in the city cannot be solved until we learn how to preach and live a whole Gospel. There are those who are constantly saying that the one need of the world is the Gospel. That is true, but it is a broader, grander, richer, and more comprehensive thing than some of these critics have ever dreamed. The text from which the Son of man preached his first sermon in his boyhood home reveals how broad a thing the Gospel really is. Jesus found the place in the book of the law and stood up and read: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." The kingdom of heaven has something to do with this world. Its coming means a recognition of the rights of human brotherhood; it means the righteous administration of law, and not the rule of brute force, mob violence, or tyranny. It means good government in the city, the state, and the nation. It means purity of politics as well as heart. It means clean streets as well as clean lives. It means a reign of unselfishness. It means the cultivation of a manhood that will not shift responsibility and seek to escape from the discharge of the sacred duties of Christian citizenship. It means the annihilation of the rum traffic and the destruction of every institution that exists for the damnation of society. It means the abolition of the sweat-shop, the solution of the tenement house problem, and the transformation of the slum districts into those which are habitable by human beings. It means plenty of money for hospitals which are fighting disease and death for the poor. It means the prosperity of institutions which exist to do the work that Jesus did when he was here

in the world. The preaching of such a Gospel, side by side with that of personal salvation for the individual, will solve the problem and bring in at last the golden age.

The problem of religious life in the city will be solved when Christians are characterized by self-abandonment and sacrifice for the work of Christ. One reason why Napoleon the First ran such a career of victory until he was overthrown by united Europe was the deathless devotion of his followers. History tells us that on a certain occasion he desired one hundred men to lead a forlorn hope. He stood before a regiment of his followers and explained to them that, in all probability, every man who volunteered for that service would be killed the moment the enemy opened fire, and then he asked in ringing tones, "Now, who is willing to die for the emperor today? A hundred men forward, step out of the ranks." We are told that instantly, not a hundred men, but the whole regiment as one man, sprang forward in solid line and rang their muskets at the feet of their emperor. Every man in that regiment was willing to die as well as fight for him who reigned over the empire of France. That was the secret of Napoleon's career of victory. The same devotion to Christ, our King, will solve the problem of religious life in the city, and capture this whole world for God and humanity.

Art. V.—AN UP-TO-DATE CONSTITUTION FOR OUR CHURCH.

When at the General Conference of 1888 the question, "Have we a Constitution?" was raised in the episcopal Address a contention was begun which has not yet terminated. It is not to be inferred, however, either from the question then asked or from the suggestive title forming the caption of this article, that the Methodist Episcopal Church from its organization in 1784 has been without a fundamental law by which it is governed. It is true that at one period of its history this governing law, like the historic constitutional law of England, was unwritten. This, at least, until the General Conference of 1808, when it took form in "The Restrictive Rules" and other epoch-making provisions which have resulted in a more orderly administration of affairs. From that time on the consensus of opinion of competent judges, both within and without the Church, has been that it has had and still has a written Constitution. But just what this document is and what it ought to be are the much-mooted and as yet unsettled questions of the hour.

It is with the hope of helping to definitely settle, not what is now the Constitution, but what such an instrument should contain, include, and cover—and this in an irenical spirit—that some suggestions will be here presented. That they are pertinent and opportune is evidenced by the fact that the General Conference of 1888 authorized the appointment of a Commission on the Constitution, whose duty it was to define the same. This it essayed to do in the interim between the Conferences, and presented its findings to the session of 1892, which indefinitely postponed them, with instructions that they be printed in the Church papers and presented to the subsequent General Conference. At that gathering, in 1896, a new Commission was created, whose report has been printed in the official denominational papers and is at present receiving due consideration prior to further action thereon in 1900.

It will be remembered by all who charged their minds with matters pertaining to this movement that the principal objec-

tion urged against the report of the Commission of 1888 was that it contained too much. The prognostications now are that the opposition which the report of the Commission of 1896 will meet is that it does not contain enough. Especially is this liable to be the main criticism in view of the fact that the Commission was not only empowered to review the work of their predecessors, but to label what in their judgment now constitutes the organic law of the Church, and to make recommendations regarding any changes they deem feasible to be made therein; or, in the language of the resolution, "to report, first, a draft which shall set forth in well-defined terms and in logically arranged articles the existing organic law of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and, secondly, any modifications of said organic law which the new committee may recommend for adoption by the concurrent action of the General Conference and the members of the Annual Conferences." This task, as we have seen, the Commission has done, and, so far as it has gone, has done creditably. But it has not gone far enough to make what it presents an ideal, up-to-date Church charter, if adopted in its present form. Since, then, the report of 1888 was too extensive, and that of 1896 not comprehensive enough, we are led to inquire whether there is no *via media*, or golden mean. Can we not at this time, and at the close of this century, draft a Constitution for the government of the Church which shall contain all the essential features of such an important document, and give to the Church of the twentieth century a model of fundamental law? It is sincerely believed that we can; therefore we ought.

To accomplish this will doubtless require concession and co-operation. It will, moreover, necessitate more or less conformity to the various points of excellence to be found in the numerous constitutions of secular and ecclesiastical governments, and the incorporation of the newest and best methods of administration. Hence there seems to be no reason why, in its salient features, the *corpus juris* of the Church should not pattern after the most perfect of our State constitutions or, what perhaps is better still, that of the United States. Furthermore, in its arrangement it should be natural and logical, beginning with the unit and terminating with the aggregate.

This method is certainly more exact and scientific than that sometimes pursued which reverses the above order. These points of history and order being settled, we can now proceed the more easily and expeditiously to indicate what such an instrument ought to contain, that it may be lucid, effective, and comprehensive.

Let it be noted, then, that there exists at present no unanimity of opinion regarding the number of its principal divisions, or the titles that they shall bear. We feel the more free to suggest, therefore, that these be four in number, and that they be designated: (I) The Articles of Religion; (II) The General Rules; (III) The Local Church, How Constituted; (IV) The Church and Its Governing Bodies.

Of the first and second of these little needs to be said, except to observe in passing: (1) that these Articles and Rules have been part and parcel of the faith and practice of the people called Methodists from Wesley's time to the present; (2) that they have remained unaltered amid theological revisions and ecclesiastical mutations for more than a century; (3) that they have been, and still are, regarded by countless numbers of the members of the Church as being the foundations upon which the Church stands. We so consider them, and would not, therefore, willingly consent to the removal of these old landmarks of Methodism.

The third main division, "The Local Church, How Constituted," requires more elaboration. It is comparatively a new department, so far as specific provisions are concerned. The emphasis should be placed upon the definition and formation of a church, membership therein, organizations and officers, local powers, and connectional ties. Some such outline as here follows will suggest the character and scope of this chapter on the local church:

(*a*) Definition. A local church or society according to our economy is a congregation of devout men and women to whom the word of God is preached and the sacraments administered, according to Christ's ordinances, as set forth in the New Testament Scriptures and the Book of Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

(*b*) Formation. Whenever ten or more persons, who give evidence of being convicted of sin and desire to flee the wrath to come, can assemble together for divine worship, and will subscribe to the Articles of

Religion and the General Rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church, they shall be received on probation and form a class, from which, when ten or more, with or without additions from persons holding certificates of membership in our own or other evangelical Churches, shall be received into full connection by a minister of our Church, they may be organized into a local society by any of our preachers, with the concurrence of the presiding elder within the bounds of whose district the new society is to be formed.

(*c*) Houses of Worship. Whenever such a society shall feel able to erect a house of worship, it shall, before selecting the building lot, first consult the District Committee on Church Location (if there be no such committee, then the Annual Conference Committee on Church Location), shall seek to have sufficient money in hand to cover all expenses of erecting such edifice before beginning to build, and shall in every instance use our form of Deed of Settlement.

(*d*) Organizations. Sunday schools, Epworth and Junior Leagues, *et al.*, may be formed in the local society as part of the same, by the preacher in charge. In so doing the provisions of the Discipline relating to the formation and government of all such bodies shall be observed.

(*e*) Officers. In the local society officers, such as trustees and stewards, shall be elected according to the law of the State or Church regulating the same. Also in the election, appointment, and recommendation of exhorters, local preachers, leaders, Sunday school and League superintendents the usages of the Church shall be conformed to and its legal requisitions fully met.

(*f*) Connectional Bonds. All societies thus formed and all bodies inhering therein, with all officers and members of the same, shall be regarded as part of the Methodist Episcopal Church at large, and have all the rights, privileges, and immunities guaranteed by the rules and regulations of said Church as more fully set forth in the chapters of the Discipline on these branches of government and in Chapter IV of this instrument on "The Church and Its Governing Bodies."

Some such chapter as the above should be incorporated into our new Constitution. If for no other reasons, at least for the reason that thus far in our economy there have been no legal formulas or directions given for and no unanimity of method practiced in the formation of the individual society and its subordinate organizations. Hence all sorts of ways and means have been employed, and much confusion and irregularity have resulted, with loss of prestige to the dignity of the Church and chagrin to her devoted pastors. And, further, because the individual member is the unit and the local church the nu-

cleus from which the membership and the Church in general are made up. They lie at the basis of all government, and no Constitution can be justly considered complete which omits to provide for their reception and formation as local organizations and their corporate relations to the organic body.

The fourth main division, "The Church and Its Governing Bodies," should treat of the Leaders' and Stewards' Meeting, the Official Board, the Quarterly, District, Annual, and General Conferences and their powers:

(*a*) The Leaders' and Stewards' Meeting is mentioned first because it should be the primary body within the local society after its organization, having to do with the temporal and spiritual interests of the charge. Its powers are fully defined in ¶ 101 of the Discipline.* There seem to be no urgent reasons either for extending or limiting the same. Let it therefore be embodied in the organic law in its present form.

(*b*) The Official Board is a little larger body than the above, with larger powers. In a certain restricted sense it is the Quarterly Conference in permanent session. Its powers also are set forth in the Discipline, ¶ 102. It is accorded the second place in this outline because it comes naturally the next in order to the Leaders' and Stewards' Meeting, although logically it should follow and not precede the Quarterly Conference.

(*c*) The Quarterly Conference is at present the supreme body in the local society, and should be so continued. In addition to its present duties and prerogatives, as given in Discipline, ¶¶ 96–100, specific provision should be made for its formation in every pastoral charge, that it shall be composed of such persons as, from time to time, the General Conference may designate, and exercise such powers as said General Conference may confer; and, further, that all local church boards, bodies, and officers shall be subject to its authority.

(*d*) The District Conference should be next in order and power. It is a distinct advance and gain over the Quarterly Conference, and unifies and fosters the work of the different charges under its jurisdiction. When once inaugurated it is found indispensable. Its powers are fully defined in Disci-

* The edition of the Discipline to which references are here made is that of 1896.

pline, ¶¶ 88–95. We regret that in the recommendations for the modification of the organic law the Commission omitted any reference to this body. It should be included in the final draft, and, if found feasible, granted even greater power than it now possesses.

(*e*) The Annual Conference, its composition and prerogatives, are specified in the Discipline, ¶¶ 69–85, and need no further amplification here. It should continue to consist of preachers only. It should claim and be granted more time than some of our presiding officers are disposed to grant, for the satisfactory completion of all legitimate business coming before it. If the bishops are so crowded with Conferences that they cannot allow an Annual Conference to "sit one week at least"—should the interests of the Conference require it—then elect more bishops.

We come now, by an easy gradation, to consider the manifold functions which should be exercised by the General Conference. Thus far has been briefly indicated under the different divisions, with here and there a passing observation, what the organic law should cover. It will be both pertinent and necessary to be a little more explicit from now on. The far-reaching influences and ramifications of this body demand it.

(*f*) The government of the Church, then, should be invested, as it now is, in the General Conference, which should consist of ministerial and lay delegates to be chosen as the General Conference shall specify from time to time, and which shall exercise the legislative, executive, and, with some qualifications or alterations, judicial functions. The sections of the law controlling this body should likewise make ample provision for the election of delegates, credentials, organization, right of challenge, sessions, presiding officers, voting, quorum, powers, limitations, and amendments. That this body should possess other grants of power than those it already has, according to the Discipline, ¶¶ 58–68, or the Commission's new draft, is obvious. And that there should be some means of making many of its operations more distinct and separate is equally patent. It is to be regretted that it both possesses and exercises the threefold office of government, namely, the legisla-

tive, executive, and judicial. The danger of this has again and again been pointed out and exemplified in statecraft. Montesquieu's celebrated apothegm reads, "There can be no liberty where the legislative, executive, and judicial powers are united in the same monarch or senate." Chief Justice Story adds, "Whenever the executive, legislative, and judiciary are all vested in one person or body of men the government is in fact a despotism." And James Madison declares, "The accumulation of all powers—legislative, executive, and judiciary—in the same hands, whether one, few, or many, and whether hereditary, self-appointed, or elective, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny." The unity of these functions is no less dangerous in churchcraft. Hence, as far as possible, these three departments ought to be operated separately and by different bodies.

If this is not feasible, at least some plan ought to be devised by which legislative and judicial action shall be kept detached. That the legislative and executive blend imperceptibly in the administration of our affairs is conceded, but not necessarily so with the legislative and judicial. For, while the General Conference executes the laws it enacts, the former of these functions—the executive—is largely performed by the general superintendents, Conferences, boards of managers, Book Committees, and other bodies. It has been and still is the interpreter as well as the maker of its own laws—a solecism in our polity which should be remedied at once. If no other way out of this difficulty can be conceived, it is plain that a new grant of power to the General Conference, clothing it with authority to hold distinctively judicial sessions, would relieve the situation. It might be stated thus:

> The General Conference, at any time during its session, shall have power by a majority vote (either by orders or otherwise) to resolve itself from a legislative into a judicial body. When it is thus organized a bishop shall preside as at other times, and it shall have authority to pass upon all matters of a judicial character coming before it; and its deliverances thereupon shall be regarded as the supreme law of the Church, until reversed by a subsequent General Conference acting in a like judiciary capacity.

In this way ordinary business or legislation could be transacted

and recorded apart from judicial decisions and interpretations, and *vice versa.* Or, what would answer the same purpose, a number of its most able men, including both orders, could be chosen to form its judiciary, with plenary powers to pass upon all questions of jurisprudence and hand down to the Church in regular judicial form its decisions, to remain as the supreme law of the Church until set aside or superseded by a like body acting in a like capacity. Either of these plans, if adopted, would obviate the mixed and incongruous actions and decisions of some of our past General Conferences.

In conclusion, it may be added that a few explanatory words in the form of a preamble would be proper as an historical introduction to such a Church Charter as we think should at this time be formulated. It may be further added that no attempt has been made to treat exhaustively this subject, or to write *ex cathedra* upon it. We have merely endeavored, as concisely as possible, to call attention to some points which in our judgment an up-to-date Constitution should cover.

Some of our readers may think we have covered too much and others too little ground; some, that the order followed would be better if reversed; and still others, that the Articles and Rules should not form part of the organic law, and that our third division is superfluous. If so, our reply is that such a document, to be clear and forcible, comprehensive and effective, must at least include what is here indicated and follow some such order as is here observed. However, it is the substance we are after, and we shall be satisfied if, in the final action taken on the organic law in 1900, any of these suggestions have given shape and fashion to the Constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Chas. J. Sheard

Art. VI.—REASONS FOR GERMAN METHODIST SCHOOLS.

Among the various objects that the German Methodists of this country had in view when they founded institutions of learning distinctively German two were paramount. One was to educate and train men for the ministry among their countrymen; the other, somewhat subsidiary to this, was to imbue our young people with the German spirit and to acquaint them more thoroughly with the language and literature of the Fatherland. To realize these two objects our representative Germans have not only undergone great sacrifices, but have also been obliged to overcome many prejudices and considerable opposition, aroused on the one hand by a narrow American spirit, on the other by our German people themselves. However, the promoters of higher German education—among whom the names of William Nast, Jacob Rothweiler, and Hermann Koch deserve special mention—did not allow themselves to be discouraged. Being convinced that institutions of learning were a necessity to German Methodism, they through patient work overcame the various difficulties and succeeded in founding early in the sixties the first two colleges—German Wallace, at Berea, Ohio, and Central Wesleyan, at Warrenton, Missouri. These were in due time followed by others, so that at present there are six institutions of learning patronized by the various German Conferences. These schools, some of which are still in the stage of infancy, lack the liberal endowments of our American colleges, but they have done good work, though mostly under discouragements and difficulties. In their faculties there have been and still are men of liberal learning, well able to fill more lucrative positions. Nevertheless, they have devoted themselves to their work, mostly of an elementary character, with an unselfishness and self-denial somewhat rare among the younger generation of teachers.

One of the prime objects in the founding of German in-

stitutions of learning, as we have stated, is the preparing of young men for the German ministry. In the earlier years of German Methodism the newly founded societies and churches were supplied mostly with men lacking a higher or collegiate education, for the reason principally that men specially trained for the work were not to be had. The ranks of the pioneer preachers were made up almost exclusively of men taken from the ordinary walks of life. With few exceptions, however, they had received a good common school education in the Fatherland. Hence these early preachers were not illiterate. Their lack of theological learning was to a great extent supplemented and counterbalanced by holy enthusiasm, deep earnestness, willingness for self-denial, and an inexhaustible capacity for hard work. Some of these itinerants traveled over immense circuits, having numerous small appointments all great distances apart. It was nothing unusual in those days for these pioneers to preach three times on Sunday and several times during the week. These are the men who built up the German work in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Circumstances were such in those early days that the college-bred preacher could be dispensed with. Rather were men needed having, besides robust health and a capacity for hard work, a heart all aglow with holy love for the souls of their unsaved countrymen.

But times have gradually changed. The days of the German circuit-rider are past, excepting perhaps in the far West. Most of these early pioneer preachers are either resting in their graves, or have become inefficient through old age. With them the people whom they gathered in, and to whom they ministered for so many years, have also passed away. A new generation has arisen, whose bringing up and mental *status* is different from that of their parents and ancestors. Our young people are on the whole more intelligent than their forefathers were. They have been educated in our public schools, have modern ideas, and are more distinctly American in habits and sentiment. This gradual change in the social condition of our German Methodist

people has also necessitated a change in the constituency of the German ministry. The methods of pastoral work and the style of preaching of those early times are no longer adapted to the larger and more settled congregations of the present day. Nor do we refer exclusively to our young people who were born and have grown up in this country, but also to that class of our older members who have more recently arrived from Germany and who, coming from the cities and larger towns, have had better advantages for education than the earlier immigrants and are therefore more intelligent and consequently more critical and exacting in their demands. In view of these facts it became necessary to raise the intellectual standard of our ministry. If that had not been done we would have soon lost our hold, not only on the newly arrived immigrants, but even on a large class of our own people. But where was this educated ministry to come from? It could not be imported from Germany, for the clergymen who came to us from the Fatherland belonged to the Lutheran Church. Nor could the men needed be obtained from the Church institutions already existing, because the instruction in them is given through the medium of the English language. There was no alternative; if our German congregations were to be supplied with an efficient, educated ministry the Church itself must furnish it. This was the prime motive for the founding of German Methodist institutions of learning in America.

The question may be asked why we have not in time rather supplanted the German language by the English, and provided our more modern and intelligent congregations with pastors, either German or native American, educated at existing Methodist institutions. The answer is that this would have disrupted most of the congregations thus treated; for, although a small percentage of the younger members might have put up with such a change, or even welcomed it, the majority of the younger people and older members almost without exception would have protested. However American in sentiment our young people may be, and however well they

may understand the English language and use it for business and literary purposes, when they worship God, read his sacred word, or listen to the dispensation of holy truths they prefer to hear and speak the language whose tones first fell upon their ears in infancy and in which their mothers taught them to pray. When a German wishes to express his deepest, holiest thoughts he does it in his mother tongue. And does not the same hold true of the Swede, the Norwegian, the Frenchman, and the native of any other country? We can approach people in their holy of holies only through their vernacular. Thus the millions of immigrants in this country have been reached by our Church and other Churches; thus they are reached by our missionaries in the various countries of Europe and in heathen lands. Any other method is destined to fail. If we wish to win the people for Christ we must go to them—they will never come to us—and must bring them the tidings of salvation in their own language. That we might continue to do this we have founded our German institutions of learning.

However, though this was the main it was not the only object we had in view when we organized our schools. As stated above, we need them also to imbue our young people with a love for their mother tongue and its literary treasures; or, expressed in other words, we need them for the more general dissemination of German culture among our own people. Our American brethren, who will readily accede to the first point, namely, the necessity of our schools as nurseries for the German ministry, may not see so clearly why we as American citizens should endeavor to propagate through these schools the German language and spirit in America. It is not, however, our purpose to found a separate organization within the State, but rather to infuse into the minds of our children a love for our adopted country. We think it possible to do both—to imbue our young people with the love of this country, and also with a love for the treasures of thought and sentiment that Germany has bequeathed to them and that are embodied in the language of their fore-

fathers. How long a lease of life the German language will have in this country it is useless to predict. We will, however, risk the prophecy that no German colony will hereafter be able to secrete and separate itself from the body of the nation, as the Germans did for more than a century in the valleys of Pennsylvania. That will no longer be possible in these days of the railway, the telegraph, and the public school. Besides, our public life is too intense to permit such narrow-minded provincialism. We would rather be absorbed into the body politic and live the broad national life of an American. But, at the same time, we must beg leave to cultivate our mother tongue and to cling to the ideals infused into our souls in infancy, and which find expression in our incomparable literature. We do not assert that the German language is the most expressive, the most virile, the most perspicuous and sonorous, as has been affirmed by enthusiastic admirers. Perhaps the English is more expressive, the Latin more virile, the French clearer, and the Italian richer in euphony. It suffices us to know that it is our mother tongue, the legacy of our ancestors; that alone is reason enough why we should continue to cultivate it and endeavor to bequeath it to our children as a sacred heirloom. Besides, our American brethren and other nations cherish our language and literature no less than we. They too know how to value German thought and culture. For years there has been annually an exodus to German universities on the part of American college graduates. No longer do the halls of classic Oxford and Cambridge echo the footsteps of American students as formerly. Nor are American students seen in large numbers in the Latin Quarter of Paris. If Henri Murger were to arise from his grave he would recognize comparatively few American faces among the crowds that surge along the Boulevard Saint Michel and the other thoroughfares of the Latin land. The center of intellectual gravity has changed from Oxford and Paris to Germany. Berlin, Leipsic, Munich are now the magnetic poles that attract American youth. The consequent change in our intellectual life has been so radical

that it might be termed the American educational renaissance. A new spirit has been infused into our schools, and courses of study have been changed to meet the demands of our higher intellectuality. The reaction has not only affected our higher institutions of learning, but even our public schools. The earlier mechanical methods have given place to a more rational teaching, adapted to the requirements of the different epochs of child life. The reign of the text-book has, to a certain extent at least, been supplanted by such teachers as are found in Germany and Switzerland.

German and American thought and civilization thus react beneficially upon each other. There need be no grating in the process, no envy in the emulation. Nor need there be any fear that our German schools may alienate the affections of our youth from America. They could not accomplish that if they wished to do so. Our German youth are fully as loyal to their country and as patriotic as their fellows of American descent. That was proved during the Civil War, and was again demonstrated in the late war with Spain.

This paper is of an apologetical character. We wish, if possible, to clear away some prevailing misconceptions in reference to our German schools and German work at large. Our American brethren need not be alarmed. This conglomeration of peoples and tongues and heterogenous masses of humanity in our country will crystallize into a homogeneous unity in due time and in a slow, peaceable manner. There is no power in the land that can prevent the process of unification which is going on imperceptibly but steadily. The time will come when there will be no longer Scandinavians, Germans, Irish, or Italians in this country, but only Americans. No one can tell how distant that day is. The discontinuance or decrease of immigration would, of course, hasten it. But one thing is sure, the day will come.

Victor Wilker.

Art. VII.—THE POETRY OF JOHN KEATS.

When we are told by Lord Houghton that Keats was "born in the upper ranks of the middle class" the language must be interpreted with a good degree of charity, in that he was in reality the son of an English hostler, Thomas Keats, and born in Finsbury, in the stable of Jennings, his father's employer, his mother being the daughter of said Jennings. Still, father and mother alike are reported to have been clever, sensible, and upright people, good specimens of the English yeomanry, the middle-folk of the country, even though not necessarily of the "upper ranks." Of an Anglo-Celtic stock, he inherited his impulsive nature from the one branch and his sober, straightforward habit from the other, and, though he came into the world prematurely, October 31, 1795, he came legitimately, and under fairly favorable auspices. As to education, Keats was denied the privileges of university training, his father's narrow resources rendering this impossible, even though, as we learn, his parents were keenly desirous that he should be thoroughly taught, if not at Oxford or Cambridge, then at Harrow or one of the great English secondary schools. We find him, in due time, at school at Enfield, under the care of a clergyman by the name of Clarke, the same school to which afterward his younger brothers naturally went. His school life, as far as the records go, was happy and profitable. A sensitive, high-spirited, and whole-hearted boy, a kind of acknowledged champion in the school, and yet shy and tender and easily discouraged with himself and his work, he was steadily gathering knowledge, disciplining his mental faculties, and preparing himself for what has been called by Mrs. Ward a singular life.

Here, again, history repeats itself, and we learn of the old story of passionate fondness for books, for good literature wherever found, for romance and mythology, while he was student enough in the sphere of classics to render the entire Æneid into prose. Called from school to become a surgeon's

apprentice at the neighboring town of Edmonton, he still loved books far more than bandages and hospitals, catching some of his best inspirations from the reading of "The Faerie Queene" and shorter poems of Spenser. Thus we learn "that it was 'The Faerie Queene' that awakened his genius," his poem entitled "Imitation of Spenser" evincing this pleasing and early dependence. Even though completing his medical studies and passing the requisite examination for hospital service, his purpose was still literary, while he impatiently awaited the opportunity to realize it. Thus from 1817 to the year of his death, February 23, 1821, his poetic work went on, impeded, as it often was, by increasingly impaired health and embittered by the cruel attacks of the critics. English criticism has rarely gone to greater lengths of personality and coarse abuse than it did in the pages of *Blackwood* and the *Quarterly*. The merciless utterances of Lockhart, Wilson, and others against the so-called "Cockney school" of poetry, as represented in Leigh Hunt and Keats, and the equally extreme thrusts of Gifford and his colleagues, seemed to have no other origin than a malicious desire to wound the feelings of these rising poets. It is to the lasting credit of Keats that under the lash of these unjust attacks he could say, "Praise or blame has but a momentary effect on the man whose love of beauty in the abstract makes him a severe critic on his own works." Naturally mindful of the fact that his work had in it some essential merit, he may be pardoned for adding, "This is a mere matter of the moment; I think I shall be among the English poets after my death," a prophecy fully confirmed by the appreciative language of Lowell, "Enough that we recognize in Keats that indispensable newness—that we call genius. His poems mark an epoch in English poetry." That he was wounded by these criticisms, however, cannot be doubted, nor would it have been natural not to have been. They were inflicted purposely as a punishment, and not at all on behalf of the cause of good letters in England, and the punishment was especially felt by Keats's sensitive nature as a rising and an aspiring poet, the Sidney

Lanier of his time. Nor is it quite satisfactory or fair to charge his wounded feelings, as Whipple does, to his lack of force and courage and kindred elements of character. "Had he possessed a great nature," says Whipple, "he would not have been wounded, though all the critics of his time had leagued against him, and he would have defied them as Milton did." Keats and Milton, we submit, cannot be tested by the same standards; and if we insist on so testing them, we must urge that, as Milton was of too tough a fiber to have felt hurt by the severest onslaughts of the critics, Keats was of too tender a fiber not to have felt hurt. In the case of the two there exists simply a radical difference of character, and each must have its place and value.

If we inquire as to the actual amount of Keats's poetic product, it cannot be said to have been large, nor in his brief life of twenty-six years could it have been so without unwonted mental development. The classification of his verse given us by Arnold is as follows: the volumes of 1817, including his earlier poems; "Endymion," his longest poem; the volume of 1820, including his more important additional poems, such as "Lamia" and "Isabella;" and, finally, his posthumous poems. An equally just classification would be: his longer poems, such as "The Eve of Saint Agnes" and "Hyperion;" and his shorter poems, including odes, epistles, and lyric sketches, such as the lines "On a Grecian Urn" and "The Eve of Saint Mark." It will thus be seen that the range of his poetic power was limited practically to the lyric and descriptive. Poetry of the epic order is, indeed, seen in "Hyperion" and some shorter selections, and historical verse of the dramatic order is seen in "Otho" and "King Stephen," but his talent was still of the idyllic type, and his success was within that special sphere. His poetic power as an evidence of mental endowment was not continuous enough to meet the highest conditions of either heroic or histrionic verse, nor was there any promise, at the time of his premature death, of any larger results in these directions. As fond as he was of the mind and art of Homer, his gift was less Homeric than The-

ocritean or Sapphic. Though he wrote to his friend, "One of my ambitions is to make as great a revolution in modern dramatic writing as Kean has done in acting," he did not make, nor could he have made, any such "revolution." The needed gifts were not his.

In noting, therefore, the special features of the verse of Keats we shall have primary reference to his shorter poems. The first suggestion that needs emphasis is the attempt that he made, and a partially successful one, to rebuke and correct the poetic formalism of eighteenth century verse, in favor of a partial restoration, at least, of earlier Elizabethan methods. It is this that his biographer, Colvin, has in mind when he says, "The element in which his poetry moves is liberty, the consciousness of release from those conventions and restraints by which the art had for the last hundred years been hampered." It is thus, also, that Matthew Arnold speaks appreciatingly of him as "an Elizabethan born too late." Mr. Lowell tells us that we see in his verse "that reaction against the barrel-organ style which had been reigning by a kind of sleepy divine right for half a century." In a word, we find Keats to be, in this respect, a veritable innovator or renovator, calling his country back to primary poetic principles, to Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton; to truth and life; to physical nature and human nature; to the simple as a protest against the artificial. This, in itself, entitles Keats to an important place in the developing history of English verse—a work quite as important as anything he did in the way of writing poetry proper. His effort to revolutionize and refresh English poetry was as creditable to his literary thought and foresight as it was to the future fortunes of English letters. It was this conception of what poetry ought to be and this purpose to secure it that so attracted him to Burns and Wordsworth, as he discerned in them both the presence of genuine poetic impulse. Hence his name cannot be overlooked in any true account of the romantic revival in English verse at the opening of the present century. It is with his eye on the Elizabethan past and the stilted affectations of

Augustan days that he wrote in the language of satire, in "Sleep and Poetry:"

> Beauty was awake!
> Why were ye not awake? But ye were dead
> To things ye know not of—were closely wed
> To musty laws lined out with wretched rule
> And compass vile: so that ye taught a school
> Of dolts to smoothe, inlay, and clip, and fit,
> Till, like the certain wands of Jacob's wit,
> Their verses tallied. Easy was the task:
> A thousand handicraftsmen wore the mask
> Of Poesy.

The evident proofs of this higher conception of the spirit and office of verse are worthy of note. His love of nature and outdoor life, a feature common to his poems, is seen in such examples as the "Ode to a Nightingale," "To Autumn," "The Thrush," "On May-Day," "Walking in Scotland," "Staffa," "On the Sea," and "The Human Seasons." His early life at Enfield and Edmonton, his later life at the Isle of Wight, Margate, Canterbury, Hampstead, Oxford, and Teignmouth, and his memorable tours through the Scottish Highlands and the English lakes awakened and deepened this love of natural scenery until it controlled him, breaking forth in manifold lyric forms, and coloring with a rich and rare radiance all the products of his pen. One has but to attempt to cull a few choice passages of this description from his verse to see, at once, that the selection is invidious, and that the poetry, from first to last, is saturated with the freshness of the fields and hills. We know of no English poet who more beautifully touches upon natural scenery than he, or more skillfully condenses into a line or a paragraph the essential elements of a landscape. The dedicatory sonnet to Leigh Hunt, at the very opening of his verse, is full of these reflections on "early morn" and "smiling day" and "pleasant trees," his first poem beginning, "I stood tiptoe upon a little hill," in which poem we have that exquisite description of dewdrops:

> those starry diadems
> Caught from the early sobbing of the morn.

Equally exquisite is the poetic touch, as he writes of

> the moon lifting her silver rim
> Above a cloud, and with a gradual swim
> Coming into the blue with all her light.

So, in his sonnet "To a Friend who Sent Me Some Roses," he sings:

> As late I rambled in the happy fields,
> What time the skylark shakes the tremulous dew
> From his lush clover covert.

So, in his sonnet on "Solitude:"

> Let me thy vigils keep
> 'Mongst boughs pavilioned, where the deer's swift leap
> Startles the wild bee from the foxglove bell.

So, elsewhere, he lovingly writes:

> To one who has been long in city pent,
> 'Tis very sweet to look into the fair
> And open face of heaven—to breathe a prayer
> Full in the smile of the blue firmament.

In his poem "Sleep and Poetry" we find some of these choice passages, as:

> Life is but a day;
> A fragile dewdrop on its perilous way
> From a tree's summit. . . .
> Life is the rose's hope while yet unblown;
> The reading of an ever-changing tale;
> The light uplifting of a maiden's veil;
> A pigeon tumbling in clear summer air;
> A laughing schoolboy, without grief or care,
> Riding the springy branches of an elm.

So, in describing some quiet retreat, he says:

> Let there nothing be
> More boisterous than a lover's bended knee;
> Naught more ungentle than the placid look
> Of one who leans upon a closèd book;
> Naught more untranquil than the grassy slopes
> Between two hills.

So, the verse runs on in sweetest measure, until we see, beyond all doubt, that Keats knew Nature thoroughly and loved her, and at times embodied his love in lines as beautiful

as are found in English verse. Nor should it be forgotten that, deep and strong as was this love, he never passed to the pantheistic extreme of confounding God and nature, or the equally dangerous anthropotheistic extreme of confounding man and nature, but viewed each in its place and all as related in the great unity and harmony of the world. "Scenery is fine," he wrote, "but human nature is finer. The sward is richer for the tread of a real nervous English foot; the eagle's nest is finer for the mountaineer having looked into it." So, he wrote in "Endymion:"

> Who, of men, can tell
> That flowers would bloom—
> If human souls would never kiss and greet?

So, in his poem on "The Human Seasons:"

> Four seasons fill the measure of the year;
> There are four seasons in the mind of man.

So, in the midst of his rapturous enjoyments of nature, as he describes them in "Sleep and Poetry," he writes:

> And can I ever bid these joys farewell?
> Yes, I must pass them for a nobler life,
> Where I may find the agonies, the strife
> Of human hearts.

He is thus at the same time the poet of man and of nature, and guards himself carefully against the worship of either to the exclusion of the other.

An additional proof of Keats's successful efforts to restore a better literary order is found in what may be called his poetic spirit, the poetic sense inherent in the genuine poet, and distinguishing him thus from the mere verbal versifier. Thus, he says, "I find I cannot do without poetry—without eternal poetry." He has often and rightly been called a poet of classical taste and art, aiming to reproduce, in every legitimate way, the beauty and literary technique of the old Greek school; but this is not all. He evinces the spirit as well as the art of verse, the unstudied impulses of the ingenuous bard as well as the more æsthetic correctness of the schools.

Even the Edinburgh reviewers forgot, for a while, their malicious work, and conceded that he had in him "a native relish for poetry," confirming the truthfulness of Keats's own statement that he would write poetry "from the mere yearning and fondness he had for the beautiful." One of the clearest evidences of this poetic spirit is seen in the rich variety of meters that we find in his verse, as if he must run up and down the entire gamut of verse-forms in order to express in fitting manner the wealth of poetic life that was in him. Hence we have the couplet, as in "Endymion" and "Lamia;" blank verse, as in "Hyperion;" the eight-line stanza, as in "Isabella;" the Spenserian stanza, as in "The Eve of Saint Agnes;" the ten-line stanza, as in the "Ode to a Nightingale;" the eleven-line stanza, as "To Autumn"—in fact, all varieties of stanza and line in rich and ever-changing form, so as to suit the structure to the sense, catch the eye and ear and taste of the reader, break the monotony of the lines, and, in fact, fill the poetry with the charm and potency of the imagination in active exercise.

A still more satisfactory evidence of this poetic spirit is in the subject-matter of the poetry itself, especially in the lyric forms, and in those short and exquisite snatches of song for which he is so justly noted. Here, as in Spenser and Milton, it is the brief idyllic passages of the shorter poems that most interest us, and on which we are willing to rest the reputation of the poet. Nothing more essentially poetic can be found in English verse than some of these outbursts, as in "The Eve of Saint Agnes," "Fancy," "The Eve of Saint Mark," and "Walking in Scotland." Those passages already adduced to show his passionate love of nature confirm this view, so that this poetic sentiment or sense permeates and governs the verse. Thus in the opening of "Endymion" we see it:

> A thing of beauty is a joy forever;
> Its loveliness increases.

So, again:

> The earth is glad: the merry lark has poured
> His early song against yon breezy sky,
> That spreads so clear o'er our solemnity.

And, again, he writes of the poet, who

> Sang (his) story up into the air,
> Giving it universal freedom.

So, in "Isabella," he describes the love of Isabella and Lorenzo:

> With every morn their love grew tenderer,
> With every eve deeper and tenderer still. . . .
> He knew whose gentle hand was at the latch,
> Before the door had given her to his eyes.

So, in the "Ode on a Grecian Urn:"

> Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard
> Are sweeter.

In his exquisite "Faery Song," as in "Fancy," we have an example of the lightness and delicacy of Keats's poetic touch:

> Shed no tear—O shed no tear!
> The flower will bloom another year.
> Weep no more—O weep no more!
> Young buds sleep in the root's white core.
> Dry your eyes—O dry your eyes,
> For I was taught in paradise
> To ease my breast of melodies—
> Shed no tear.

So, opens "The Eve of Saint Mark:"

> Upon a Sabbath day it fell;
> Twice holy was the Sabbath bell,
> That called the folk to evening prayer.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Twice holy was the Sabbath bell:
> The silent streets were crowded well
> With staid and pious companies,
> Warm from their fireside orat'ries;
> And moving, with demurest air,
> To evensong, and vesper prayer.
> Each arched porch, and entry low,
> Was filled with patient folk and slow,
> With whispers hush, and shuffling feet,
> While played the organ loud and sweet.
> The bells had ceased, the prayer begun,
> And Bertha had not yet half done

> A curious volume, patched and torn,
> That all day long, from earliest morn,
> Had taken captive her two eyes,
> Among its golden broideries.

This is poetry in form and essence. Taste, feeling, imagination, and inspiration are all combined to make up a poetic product as impressive as it is beautiful, entitling its author to high rank among our native English lyrists. To this extent, at least, the poetry of Keats is possessed of the inner principle of life and rhythmic movement; free and natural, sympathetic with its diversified themes, and thus definitely aiding that great romantic revival which aimed to break away from old restrictions into a larger literary freedom.

This is, perhaps, Keats's greatest feature as a poet, the explanation of his best work and the ground of his claim to permanent poetic repute, that he had a spirit responsive to beauty, quickly perceiving and acknowledging it and diffusing its influence and charm wherever he went. As has been said, poetry was with him "a philosophy and a religion." His theory of life was based upon it, and he never disconnected it, as Byron and others did, from truth and goodness and love. "Beauty is Truth, and Truth is Beauty" was his creed, as he insisted that it was through beauty and love that the two worlds of sense and spirit were united and together worked in perfect harmony for the realization of the highest ends of man. It was because he saw this artistic principle in Greek art and letters that he was so attracted to Homer and the classical mythology, even though he knew but little of the Greek language as a study of the schools. When we are told that Ruskin so appreciated his poetic work as to regard it a model the explanation is found in the fact that Ruskin found in Keats's verse the satisfaction of his sense of form and love of the beautiful. It is this, also, that explains the avowed indebtedness of Tennyson and the later Victorian poetry to Keats in that he, most of all, embodied in his verse this central æsthetic principle and inspired others to attempt to secure and express it, this inspiration definitely marking the "new

poetry" of life from the older verse of formalism and correctness. Hence Saintsbury, in his latest work on Victorian authors, speaks of Keats as a "germinal" poet, and adds that "he is the father directly or at short stages of descent of every worthy English poet born within the present century. He begat Tennyson, and Tennyson begat all the rest." In this respect he accomplished more after his death than in his life, or rather lived again and to greater purpose in the work of the poetic disciples whom he influenced.

Keats's relation to other English poets, antecedent and contemporary, is a subject of interest to every student of his verse. First of all is Spenser, partly because he was Spenser, and partly because of his place as one of the great Elizabethan poets, and thus exponential of a genuine poetic life and work. As we have seen, one of his earliest poems was entitled "Imitation of Spenser," referring to the stanza and spirit of the epic poet. One of his sonnets is written in honor of him. In some of his choicest poems, as in "The Eve of Saint Agnes," he uses the Spenserian stanza. In his "Specimen of an Induction to a Poem," he calls him "the great bard," and invokes his "gentle spirit to hover nigh (his) daring steps" as a poet. So, as to Milton, whom he reverently calls "Chief of organic numbers, Old Scholar of the Spheres," while all critics have noticed the marked influence of the Miltonic diction, especially that of "Paradise Lost," on the poetry of Keats, and chiefly as seen in "Endymion" and "Hyperion." So, as to Chaucer, back to whom all later genuine English poets were wont to look. He introduces his beautiful poem on "Sleep and Poetry" by a quotation from Chaucer, while here and there are evident traces in diction of the early study of "The Canterbury Tales" and other poems of the great Middle English bard. That he loved the poetry of Shakespeare goes without saying. "Thank God," he writes, "I can read and, perhaps, understand Shakespeare to his depths;" while the motto or poetic heading of "Endymion," "The stretchèd meter of an antique song," is taken from the seventeenth of Shakespeare's sonnets. He calls

him "that warm-hearted Shakespeare." So, as to Chapman, the translator of Homer; Browne, the author of the "Pastorals;" Chatterton, the "marvelous boy;" Landor, the classical English writer; Leigh Hunt, and, also, Shelley, who rests with Keats in the same God's acre outside the city of Rome, "united," as Devey says, "in the same belief in human perfectibility and drawing their inspiration from the same fountain, the undying beauty of the world's youth as imaged in the creations of antique Greece," and yet so unlike in their poetic relationship, aims, and work. Shelley's elegy, "Adonais," is a sufficient proof of their devoted personal attachment, and

> till the Future dares
> Forget the Past, his fate and fame shall be
> An echo and a light unto Eternity.

In the light of this long list of English authors to whom Keats stands related, and often indebted, it is to be noted that there was on his part nothing in the line of slavish imitation. No English poet has been less servilely dependent on others than he. To everything he read and heard he gave the free impress of his own spirit, while he is ever glad to acknowledge the fact that there had lived such poets as Spenser and Milton to whom, as to superior and puissant spirits, he gladly and safely resorted for needed poetic stimulus.

All gifts and excellencies conceded, however, Keats had his personal and poetic limitations. He was in no sense a great thinker in verse; in no sense a bold and successful reorganizer of important literary movements, despite the fact that he was a valuable agent with others in the poetic revival of the century. "The faults of Keats's poetry," writes Lowell, "are obvious enough, but it should be remembered that he died at twenty-five and that he offends by superabundance and not poverty. That he was overlanguaged at first there can be no doubt." "Whether Keats was original or not," he adds, "I do not think it useful to discuss until it has been settled what originality is. Enough that we recognize in him that indefinable manner and unexpectedness which we call genius.

No doubt there is something tropical in his sudden maturity, but it was maturity, nevertheless." Here we see Mr. Lowell conceding the faults of Keats and, in a genuinely charitable spirit, seeking to minimize their force. To our mind, his greatest fault was the close connection which his poetry evinces of excellence and defect, so as to mar, at times, any unity of good result. It is thus that Colvin, in speaking of "Endymion," writes, "Beauties and faults are so bound up together that a critic may well be struck almost as much by one as by the other." So, Devey writes, " 'Endymion' contains passages which would do honor to the Elizabethan poets, with much commonplace which would disgrace Blackmore." The same is true of "Hyperion" and "Lamia," and of many of his minor poems, as to the conspicuous absence of sustained excellence, so that the sympathetic reader is, at times, startled and shocked by the suddenness and violence of the contrasts. This is one of the reasons, undoubtedly, why his longest poem, "Endymion," containing some rare poetic passages, has not been more widely read and appreciated, its too frequent lapses from the poet's high standard discouraging the general student and reader. Here again, however, we might assume Mr. Lowell's more charitable view and insist that the principle in question proves too much—that if we apply it severely as a specific principle of poetic criticism, most of our already accepted conclusions must be greatly modified. Thus, it might be argued that "The Faerie Queene" and "Paradise Lost" and "The Excursion" and "Lalla Rookh" and "Aurora Leigh" and "Evangeline" evince a similar abrupt descent from higher to lower levels, from the sublime to the indifferent; the only difference being, perchance, that this unheralded descent is oftener made by Keats than by Spenser, Milton, Wordsworth, Moore, Mrs. Browning, and Longfellow. In any case, however, it is a fault, its character depending on its frequency and suddenness and on the manner in which in every instance the poet recovers himself and rises again to loftier levels of wider outlook and more inspiring influences.

It is in his minor poems that his special gifts appear. It is of his "Ode on a Grecian Urn" and "La Belle Dame sans Merci" that Saintsbury says, "He need to have written nothing but these two to show himself not merely an exquisite poet, but a leader of English poetry for many a year, almost for many a generation to come." It is in referring to his premature death and to his burial at Rome and, especially, to his own prepared epitaph, "Here lies one whose name was writ in water," that Saintsbury beautifully adds, "Posterity has agreed with him that it was written in water, but in the water of life." Lovely and benignant in character, unselfishly thoughtful of the interests of others, gifted with the essential spirit of poetry, and of quite too sensitive a fiber to bear the struggle of this rude world, his clear and pure personality is a perpetual blessing to the English nation, and the verse he wrote a beautiful reflection of the strength and sweetness of his life. In the "Letters" of Keats, recently published, this attractive personal side of his career is brought more prominently to view, as is also his work as a writer of miscellaneous English prose.

J. W. Hunt

Art. VIII.—THE SYNAGOGUES OF THE DISPERSION AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY.*

It is a fact well known to readers of history that the Jewish people in the time of Christ were widely scattered throughout the civilized world. There were Jewish communities in all the large cities and towns of the Roman empire, and adventurous Jewish traders penetrated to the remotest provinces. These Jewish emigrants kept themselves in close touch with Judea, and they were also in the most intimate relation with the stirring world about them. Thus there came to pass, at least one hundred and fifty years before Christ, according to Philo, the following condition:

> Jerusalem became the capital not only of Judea, but of many other lands on account of the colonies it sent out from time to time into the bordering districts of Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria, Cœlo-Syria, and into the more distant regions of Pamphylia, Cilicia, and greater parts of Asia Minor as far as Bithynia and the remotest corners of Pontus, and in like manner into Europe; into Thessaly, Bœotia, and Macedonia, and Ætolia, and Attica, and Argos, and Corinth, and into the most fruitful parts of Peloponnesus. Not only is the continent full of Jewish colonies, but also the most important islands, such as Eubœa, Cyprus, and Crete—I say nothing of the country be-

* In the preparation of this article the writer has had access, in addition to the standard books of reference, to the following historical works, largely through the courtesy of the librarian of the Indiana State Normal: *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, Schürer (Second Division, vol. ii, secs. 27 and 30); *History of the People of Israel*, Renan (Period of Jewish Independence and Judea under Roman Rule, particularly book x, chaps. iii and iv); *History of Israel*, Ewald; *History of the Jews*, H. Graetz; *A History of the Jewish People*, Kent; *History of the People of Israel*, Cornill; *History of the Jews*, Milman; *History of the Jewish Church*, Stanley; Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*. The only original authority consulted has been Josephus. I have sought mainly in these works for a detailed account of the dispersion of the Jews in apostolic times. The histories of Schürer and Renan have proven most valuable. The work by Professor Graetz, written from the Jewish standpoint, while manifestly biased, is suggestive. He lays emphasis upon the advantage taken by the apostolic missionaries of the Jewish communities and of the leaning toward Judaism among the Gentiles (vol. ii, p. 221.) On the organization of the dispersed Jewish communities the studies by Renan and Schürer and the articles "Synagogue" and "Dispersed" in McClintock and Strong have been of most use. On the methods used by the early evangelists in the Christian propaganda the records of the missionary journeys of Paul are about all that is left. It was unnecessary to refer to other historical works which were at hand, and it has been possible only to glean from a multitude of references those which are inserted.

yond the Euphrates. All of them except a very small portion of Babylon, and all the satrapies which contain fruitful land, have Jewish inhabitants.*

The dispersion of the Jews began hundreds of years before the Christian era, in forced captivities under Syrian and Babylonian conquerors. In 740 B. C. Tiglath-pileser, king of Syria, carried off as captives parts of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, and twenty years later Sargon took away the mass of the ten tribes to the regions beyond the Euphrates. A hundred years later Jerusalem was captured by Nebuchadnezzar, the city was destroyed, and the king and people were taken to Babylon. Of those who were carried away but few ever returned to their native land. They became absorbed in the industrial life about them, and found it more profitable to remain among their conquerors than to return with the remnant who rebuilt the Holy City. These "lost tribes" grew and multiplied for over five hundred years. They were never lost, but only shared finally the common extinction of those vast oriental populations. They formed the great Jewish population of Parthia, Syria, and Mesopotamia which was known as the "dispersion" in apostolic times. There were other minor captivities which occurred in the course of the Jewish wars and in which a few of the people were carried away, such as those who were taken to Rome by Pompey to grace his triumph.

But there were important and more immediate causes than these back of the wide Jewish dispersion. The Jews have always been a prolific people, remarkably free from the vices which depopulate nations. Their country was small and unequal to the natural growth of its population, and the overflow naturally poured into the surrounding nations. On account of its geographical position Palestine was also the scene of constant military expeditions and sanguinary conflicts between the nations of the East and the West. This was unfavorable to the pursuit of trade. It made industry precarious, and with the development of the Hebrew genius for commerce those engaged in trade naturally sought more favorable

* Schürer, p. 222.

localities. For these reasons there was a constant voluntary emigration of Jewish settlers to the countries bordering upon Palestine, and to all the towns of the Roman empire. It was especially during the Hellenistic period that these emigrations were most numerous. The Macedonian generals of Alexander the Great, and their successors, encouraged the intermingling of different nationalities; they founded new cities all through the Orient, and were lavish in special privileges to attract to them new settlers. Valuable rights of citizenship and other privileges were freely given to attract Jewish immigrants. Drawn by these inducements, large numbers of Jews left their native land for foreign cities. Thousands of them emigrated into the neighboring countries of Syria and Egypt. They collected in unusually large numbers in Antioch and Alexandria; they crowded into the cities of Asia Minor, particularly the towns and islands bordering upon the Ægean Sea, as well as to the larger ports and commercial cities of the Mediterranean. Thus it was brought about, partly by force and partly by emigration, that the Sibylline Oracles could say, about the year 140 B. C., "that every land and sea was filled with the Jews." Renan has given a striking description of these Jewish emigrants:

> Honest, industrious, and apt in small employments, these transported Jews served as a nucleus of an excellent middle class. A people they hardly were; a peasantry, never. Country life and barbarous lands were to them as if nonexistent. But as orderly men and faithful subjects they had no equals; they quickly took root in any country, and looked on that in which they were born as their fatherland. Sovereigns conferred privileges upon them. Viewed with jealousy by the population about them, they meddled very little with questions of dynasty, and were always for the strongest. Fidelity to any legitimate sovereign was one of the things on which they prided themselves.*

The dispersion of the Jews in the commercial centers of the Roman empire was so important in the spread of early Christianity that we shall go into considerable detail and endeavor to show just where they were located, the peculiar institutions

* *History of the People of Israel*, book x, p. 191.

which they carried with them, and the preparation which they unconsciously made for the rapid spread of Christianity. In the eastern provinces of Parthia, Mesopotamia, and Syria, with their immense population, the Jews were numbered by the million in the time of the apostles. The descendants of the tribes carried away in the great captivity had been multiplying for over five centuries, and their numbers had been augmented by a constant stream of emigration. Josephus says of the dispersion in Babylonia in his own time, "There are but two tribes in Asia and Europe under the Romans, while the ten tribes are beyond the Euphrates until now, and are an immense multitude not to be estimated by numbers."* The Jews were congregated in great numbers in the cities of Nehardea and Nisibis in the valley of the Euphrates. These cities, because of their natural strength, were made the depositories of the revenue derived from the temple tax, which was a half shekel from every Jew. The largeness of these offerings may be gathered from the statement of Josephus that "many ten thousand men undertook the carriage of these donations to Jerusalem, to protect the money from the Parthians." † Milman approves the evidence for the Jewish colony having penetrated into China sometime before the Christian era. ‡ They were settled in Arabia, where Mohammed found them numerous and powerful. Many other references might be given, all going to show that at the time of Christ there was a numerous population of Jews in the cities and towns of the Euphrates and Tigris valleys, and on the shores of the Persian Gulf.

The province of Syria, lying immediately west of Mesopotamia and to the north of Judea, was literally half Jewish. Its situation was fortunate for trade, as the traffic from Greece and Rome and the far East passed naturally through its territory. Josephus says, "For as the Jewish nation is widely dispersed over all the habitable earth among its inhabitants, so it is very much intermingled with Syria because of its neighborhood, and has great multitudes in Antioch by

* *Antiquities*, xi. 5. † *Ibid.*, xviii. 9. 1.
‡ *History of the Jews*, vol. ii, p. 433 (2 vol. ed.).

reason of the largeness of the city."* At Damascus the Jews practically controlled the city. There was a time when every woman was a native or proselyte Jewess. † Ten thousand Jews were assassinated in the city during one of the wars. ‡ In Asia Minor the Jews were thickly settled throughout all the provinces, from Mysia on the west to the limits of Cappadocia on the east and the settlements on the Black Sea. Antiochus the Great settled three thousand Jewish families in Phrygia and Lydia. § The record of the first and second missionary journeys of Paul in the Acts reveals large Jewish populations in the towns of these provinces. Philo mentions Jewish settlements in Bithynia and the most distant parts of Pontus on the Euxine. ‖ Greek inscriptions of the first century indicate that the Crimea was colonized by the Jewish settlers. ¶ Pomponius Flaccus confiscated treasure chests containing the money from the temple tax on the way to Jerusalem from Laodicea, Adramyttium, and Pergamos. Probably in no country was the Jewish dispersion more numerous than in Egypt, and nowhere else, except at Jerusalem, has the influence of the race upon the nations been of so great importance. There were Jews in Egypt and Ethiopia in earliest times. There were frequent and continuous migrations during all the years from the captivity until the Christian times. When Alexander the Great built Alexandria he placed there a considerable number of Jews, giving them equal rights with the Egyptian citizens.** A Jewish temple was built at Leontopolis,†† a most remarkable fact, and on the eastern border of the kingdom a Jewish town was constructed which was important from a military point of view. Alexandria early became a great metropolis of the Jewish dispersion. They occupied two out of five quarters of the city, their quarters lying along the sea near the royal palace, in the northeastern part of the city. They were given the largest liberties, being governed by their own ethnarch, "as if," says

* Josephus, *B. J.*, vii, 3. † *Ibid.*, ii, 2a, 2. ‡ *Ibid.*, ii, 20, 2.
§ Josephus, *Antiquities*, xii, 3, 4.
‖ Philo, Ed. Mang., ii, 587, quoted by Schürer.
¶ Renan, *History of the Jews*, p. 192.
** Josephus, *Apion*, ii, 4; *Antiquities*, xix, 5. †† *Ibid.*, xiii, 3; *Wars*, vii.

Josephus, "he was ruler of a free republic."* According to Philo, they made up almost half of the population. The city contained several synagogues, one of which was unusually magnificent. Philo estimates the Jewish population of Egypt in his day at about one million souls.† Jewish colonists, according to Strabo, formed a quarter of the population of the province of Cyrenaica.‡ They were a turbulent element in the capital, Cyrene, where they were terribly punished by Lucullus. §

There is scanty information concerning the settlements in Greece, but there was evidently a wide dispersion. Paul found his countrymen with organized synagogues in Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, and Corinth. He also mentions synagogues in the town of Salamis, in Cyprus. Philo mentioned that there were Jews in Thessaly, Bœotia, Macedonia, and Ætolia, and Attica, and Argos, and Corinth, in the most fruitful and fairest parts of the Peloponnesus; also the most important islands, such as Eubœa, Cyprus, and Crete.‖ The settlement of the Jews in Rome dates from the time of Pompey the Great, when Jewish prisoners were manumitted and settled on the banks of the Tiber, where they formed the nucleus of a growing Jewish quarter. The Jewish community in Rome was regularly organized with rights of citizenship and a limited self-government. They spread from their quarter all over the city. Repressive measures, deportation, banishment, and massacre were resorted to to check their power, and to satisfy the hatred of the people against them. At least five Jewish cemeteries have been discovered within the last century in different parts of the city. At Puteoli there was the most ancient Jewish settlement in Italy. Jewish communities, according to Schürer, are also met with in various parts of Gaul and Spain in later imperial times. There were Jewish colonies in lower Italy, also in Genoa, Milan, Brescia, Aquila, Bologna, Ravenna, Naples, Venosa, Syracuse, Palermo, Messina, Agrigentum, Apulia, and Calabria. The beginning of these settlements cannot be

* *Antiquities*, xiv, 7, 2. † Schürer, p. 229. ‡ *Antiquities*, xiv, 7, 2.
§ *Ibid.*, xiv, 7, 2. ‖ Schürer, p. 222.

traced, but they almost surely existed in apostolic times. The widespread dispersion and influence of the Jews is also indicated by the bitter hatred against the Jews of the peoples in the city to which they went. The anti-Semitic movement of the present time in France and Austria is but the revival of the hatred which comes down from antiquity and had its cause in commercial and race antagonism. In the published records of the empire there are frequent references to trials, insurrections, and of mob violence against the Jewish inhabitants of provincial cities. A multitude of similar references might be made to indicate the extent of the Jewish dispersion, but enough has been given to reveal their marvelous vitality as a people and to show how widely they were scattered. The record of their settlements in thousands of towns must remain hopelessly lost in the wreck of the past.

And everywhere they established separate organizations. "There was only one way," writes Schürer, "by which those of the Jewish people that were scattered over the whole earth could possibly maintain their religion and usages, and that was by organizing themselves into independent communities, within which they might cherish the faith and practice the observances of their fathers in a foreign land and in the heart of the Gentile world, just as though they were living in the Holy Land itself." That was exactly what they did. At Alexandria they lived in thoroughly organized communities governed by the council of elders, which was presided over by one of their number. At Cyrene and Berenice, in Cyrenaica, they had local self-governments. At Rome the Jews were grouped into communities called *συναγωγαί*, each having its own synagogue, assembly of elders, and public officials. The organization of the Jewish communities was not distinctive with them, but was a practice allowed by the governments of antiquity and carried on by the dispersed of other nations. Egyptians, Syrians, and Grecians as well as Jews naturally congregated together in foreign cities, as they do in our own to-day, for fellowship, religious association, and mutual protection. Limited political privileges were given to

these national groups in all the provinces.* In the majority of the older cities in Asia Minor, Phœnicia, and Syria, and in Greece, the Jews occupied the position of settlers as opposed to citizens.† The Jewish communities in such cities were really private associations recognized by the state, and where the colonists were not numerous enough to form a colony or self-governing community they met together, as at Philippi, at some appointed place for fellowship and prayer. According to Jewish law, wherever ten Jews lived together a synagogue was to be erected. The synagogue always meant an organized community. There were a great many towns in which the Jews enjoyed the full rights of citizenship, particularly the towns of the Hellenistic period, such as Alexandria, Antioch in Syria, and also in the cities of the coast of Ionia, particularly in Ephesus. According to Philo, the majority of the Jews in Rome enjoyed the rights of citizenship as descendants of freedmen. This privilege prevented the trial of a citizen before any but a Roman court, exempted from degrading punishment, such as scourging and crucifixion, and allowed the right of appeal to the emperor himself.‡

The great tie which bound these emigrants together was the power of their religion. It was this which made Jerusalem, with its glorious temple, the capital of a world-wide Judaism. These dispersed Jews were intensely religious, and their distance from home, their isolation and persecution in a thousand cities, but deepened that life. The entire religious and political life of these Jewish communities centered in the synagogue. It was a building set apart for the worship of Jehovah, but, like the New England church of colonial times, it was also the place for the town meetings. The civic life of the community was one with their religious life, carrying out the sublime theocratic idea of the Hebrew faith. Here were the children instructed in the sacred history and literature by the rabbis. The elders of the synagogue, with its chief ruler, were civic magistrates with power to settle disputes, enforce punishment, and manage the public funds. They met in

* Schürer, p. 252. † Josephus, *Apion*, ii, 4. ‡ Schürer, p. 273.

rooms connected with the synagogue; offenders were beaten in other rooms; travelers found an asylum within its walls, and meals were eaten there; but all without detracting from its sanctity. Here, on the Sabbath day and great feast days, the exiles met regularly for the reading of the Scriptures, saying of prayers, and the interpretation of the word. Paul found these synagogues everywhere he went. Philo says, "In all the towns thousands of houses of instruction were opened where discernment, and moderation, and skill, and justice, and all virtues were taught." The remains of synagogues are found as far north as Crimea. In the large cities there were many synagogues. We learn from the book of Acts that this was true of Damascus and Salamis. In Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, etc., there were many, some of them very elegant. The building was erected in some prominent locality, preferably outside the city near a running stream. It was usually rectangular, like our simplest form of one-room churches. A high partition divided it down the center, separating the men from the women. Opposite the entry there was a raised platform large enough to accommodate several persons; on it there was a reading desk, and back of this seats of honor for the elders, the doctors of the law, and distinguished men. Back of the desk and chairs was the ark containing the copies of the law wrapped in silk. Over the desk a lamp was kept continually burning. The people met for worship every Sabbath, also on Mondays and Wednesdays, and on festival occasions. The services consisted of the prayers which took the place of the sacrifices in the temple at Jerusalem, reading from the sacred Scriptures, short addresses of exposition, and a closing benediction. An interpreter stood beside the reader of the law to explain its meaning. The interpreter was not necessarily a prominent official, but any fitted to do the work might be asked to the rostrum. Even a boy might take the place if he were gifted. It was a courtesy shown to visiting rabbis to thus allow them to speak. For example, the Lord explained the prophecy of Isaiah at his home synagogue, and Paul did the same as he passed from

city to city. The synagogue was also a trysting place where the itinerant Jews met their countrymen. It offered an excellent place for discussion and disputation. The synagogue, therefore, furnished a compact organization which centralized in a remarkable way the religious, civic, social, and educational life of the thousands of widely scattered Jewish communities.

Every dispersed Jew was a zealous proselyter, and these synagogues naturally became centers of a widespread propaganda. The Jews, as Renan has wittily said, "were traveling agents for monotheism and the last judgment." They gathered about each synagogue a body of Gentile converts and a larger fringe of Gentiles who, while not converts, yet became indoctrinated with the cardinal ideas of the Hebrew faith. The Jewish religion, with its lofty ideals, pure monotheism, joyous feasts, and clean religious practices, drew to it many of the men, and particularly the women, of the pagan peoples. St. Paul found these proselytes everywhere. Josephus boasts that "many of the Greeks have been converted to our laws,"* and he gives as a cause of the great revenue from the temple tax the large number of proselytes.† As was said before, at Damascus there was a time when all the women of the city were adherents of Judaism. Frequent mention is also made in the Acts of distinguished converts. The centurion, whose servant was healed by the Lord, and the Ethiopian eunuch were proselytes. The royal house of Adiabene, mentioned by Josephus, were distinguished converts to Judaism.‡

It will be readily seen what a remarkable field these congregations, gathered about the synagogues, offered to the first Christian preachers. There was not a city or town of influence in the empire, from Hispania on the west to the borders of India on the east, from Gaul, Macedonia, and Crimea on the north to the farthest penetrated regions of Africa on the south, where these Jews and their synagogues were not found. They with the proselytes under their influence were indoctrinated beforehand with Hebrew ideas. The burning Mes-

* *Apion*, ii, 10. † *B. J.*, vii, 33. ‡ xx, 2, 4.

sianic hope was in all hearts. It was not as though a Christian missionary of the first century must go into cities wholly unprepared for his message, with language to learn and national spirit to understand and prejudice to overcome. They went to men who understood the common Greek tongue, and their congregations were waiting for them like tinder prepared for the flames. Any one of the apostles, or of the rapidly increasing fiery evangelists, burning with the martyr spirit of the first century, might go into a city for the first time, seek out the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and when the opportunity came he might by a single sermon divide a synagogue and gather about himself the nucleus of a Christian church. Within this nucleus there would be gathered Jewish families of wealth and influence and sufficient proselytes to form an opening wedge into the Gentiles of the city. It was thus made possible by the universal dispersion of the Jews and the grouping of their communal life about the synagogue, with its fringe of Gentile converts, for Christianity within an incredibly short time to literally honeycomb the empire with Christian churches.

There is but scant literature on this period. Such as we have is largely found in the book of Acts and in the Pauline epistles, but it is sufficient to establish the truth of what has been set forth in this paper. It is instructive to follow the missionary labors of the apostolic group as it is narrated in Acts. The disciples began in Jerusalem, preaching in the temple, on the streets, and possibly in many of the four hundred synagogues of the city. Evangelists, like Philip, went into the Samaritan towns and into Galilee, rapidly reaping the first harvest. It thus came to pass that by the time of the conversion of Paul, a short period afterward, there were churches scattered throughout Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. Peter was beginning even at that early period episcopal journeys among the churches. The converts who were scattered by the persecution which came at the time of the stoning of Stephen traveled into Phœnicia, and as far as Cyprus and Antioch, preaching to the Jews only.

The methods pursued by Paul in his missionary labors are suggestive in that they reveal what was evidently the methods of the evangelists of that period. His first missionary journey began with the province of Seleucia. When he came to Salamis, on the island of Cyprus, he went immediately to the synagogue of the Jews, where he preached on the Sabbath. Passing to the mainland, he came to Antioch, in Pisidia, where a wonderful work opened out. He preached in the synagogue on the Sabbath, and when the Jews had left the house of worship the Gentiles begged him to remain over the next Sabbath, and many, both of Jews and religious proselytes, were converted by a single address. The next Sunday, says Luke, almost the whole city came out to hear them preach, and within the space of a few weeks the word was published throughout the whole region. From Antioch they passed to Iconium, where they again went to the synagogue, and they "so spake," says Luke, "that a great multitude both of the Jews and also of the Greeks believed." They remained several weeks there, and their preaching divided the whole city. From Iconium they passed to Derbe, Lystra, and the cities of Lycaonia, pursuing the same methods and meeting with great success, but also with bitter opposition and danger. They then retraced their steps, organizing and preaching as they went. On a second missionary journey Paul revisited this church, and then, crossing the Ægean, he penetrated into Macedonia and Greece. At Philippi he preached to the Jews and proselytes outside the city walls, and gathered quickly a nucleus of a new church. Passing on, they came to Thessalonica, where Paul, "as his manner was," preached in the synagogue on three successive Sabbath days. A few Jews were converted, of devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few. An immense uproar and a violent mob followed, incited by the faithful Jews, and Paul and Silas were hastily sent away; but the new church with a large membership was left behind, soon to be revisited. At Berea, the next city, they went to the synagogue, and great interest was immediately aroused.

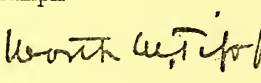
Many believed, particularly among the honorable Greek women and men. But Jews followed them from Thessalonica, and Paul was obliged to leave for Athens, where also he disputed with the Jews in their synagogue and gathered converts, among them a man of some prominence, Dionysius, a member of the upper senate of Athens, and a woman named Damaris. Leaving Athens, Paul next came to Corinth, where, following his custom, he sought out the Jews and preached in the synagogue on the Sabbath. Violent persecutions arising, he left the synagogue, going to the house of Festus, a Roman, which adjoined the synagogue. The chief ruler of the synagogue, evidently the first man in the Jewish community, was converted and brought his family with him into the new church. Many Corinthian converts were also gathered. Paul, reinforced by Timothy and Silas, preached for six months. So great was the sympathy which was aroused by the Christian missionaries that when they were arrested by Sosthenes, the ruler of the synagogue succeeding Crispus, the deputy of Achaia, Gallio, drove them out of the judgment hall and a mob of Greeks beat Sosthenes before the throne. From Corinth Paul came to Ephesus, where he also went to the synagogue, but hastened on to Cæsarea, and thence on a rapid tour of inspection to the churches of Asia Minor. Returning, Paul spent two years at Ephesus and the cities and towns in the region, preaching in the synagogues, disputing in the school of Tyrannus, and "so mightily grew the word of God and prevailed." From Ephesus Paul revisited the churches in Macedonia and Greece, and returning to Jerusalem, was arrested and sent to Rome. But little remains in the record to illustrate his method. At Rome he could not go to the synagogue, being a prisoner, and so called the elders to meet him, to whom he delivered the message of the cross. Some became converts, but many disbelieved. Then, inviting both Gentiles and Jews, he preached to them two full years in his private house. We learn from the Epistle to the Philippians that among the converts were persons from the imperial household.

The scanty records of Acts lift the curtain from a small part of the immense field of the missionary labors of the apostolic times. The other apostles went elsewhere, possibly Peter to the far eastern provinces of Mesopotamia and Babylon, and Thomas to northern Africa, and a rapidly increasing body of Christian evangelists penetrated the cities and towns of all the provinces. There can be no doubt but that they followed in the main the method which was used by Paul, and that his phenomenal work in the provinces of Asia Minor, in the islands of the Ægean, in Macedonia and Greece and Syria, was paralleled by other Christian workers. Everywhere there were the dividing of synagogues, the gathering of the Gentile proselytes, tumults, mobs, violence, persecution, death, and triumph. The synagogical converts became opening wedges into the pagan world, lifting temples from their foundations and overturning ancient faiths. And what more natural than that the new Christian churches should be organized after the manner of the synagogues, with a council of elders in each local church, a chief ruler or bishop, a body of deacons or almoners to care for the charitable interests of the new Christian community? What more natural than that the rectangular synagogue, with its simple arrangements and raised platform facing rows of pews, should become the model for the Christian edifices which were springing up everywhere?

Gibbon has given five causes for the spread of early Christianity: the zeal which the Christians inherited from the Jews; the doctrine of future rewards and punishments and of the immortality of the soul; the miraculous powers claimed by the Church; the severe morality of the early Christians; their splendid ecclesiastical organization. We would venture to add as a sixth the influence of the synagogues of the dispersion, as it has been presented in this article. One would venture also the opinion that for the first generation after the crucifixion of Jesus its influence was greater than any one of the other five. Christian men will also believe that there was one element of power, greater than all of the

others, which naturally escaped the observation of the skeptical historian. It was that of which Jesus spake in his parting words, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." It was the dynamic of the Holy Ghost, through whom "mightily grew the word of God and prevailed."

Thus it was that through bitter birth woes Judaism gave birth to Christianity, her mighty child. The curtain drops after those centuries, and when it lifts again we behold a crumbling paganism and an aggressive, victorious Christianity. The provinces of the empire swarm with Christians; the soil is reddened with the blood of their martyrdom; but, as it had been with their suffering Master, the way of the cross is the way of their triumph.



EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

Henry Ward Beecher said, "My conception of religion is to let every faculty effulge, touched with celestial fire."

Horace Bushnell, writing in 1872 to Dr. Bartol, expresses his feeling about the liberalism and looseness of the Unitarians: "I have a certain pity, as I read, for what I should call your *unstandardliness*. I think of an egg trying to get on without a shell, and it seems to be a rather awkward predicament. I am very fond of liberty, it is true, but I should not like to have the astronomic worlds put up in it, even if it were given them to go by their inspirations. Liberties are good, inspirations are good, but I like to have some standard forces to which I can advert when I get tired."

One fine, green, cool May day in 1845, at nine o'clock in the morning, Robert Browning, sitting by an English window outside of which he saw his favorite chestnut tree dancing in the southwest wind, "all its baby-cone-blossoms rocking like fairy castles on a hill in an earthquake," wrote in a love letter to Miss Elizabeth Barrett the following sentence, worth quoting here because indicative of his and her habitual feeling toward the greatest of subjects: "Sydney Smith laughs somewhere at some Methodist or other whose wont was, on meeting an acquaintance in the street, to open at once on him with some enquiry after the state of his soul; Sydney knows better now, and sees that one might quite as wisely ask such questions as the price of Illinois stock or condition of glebe-land."

BURYING MATHEMATICS.

One of our theological professors recently said that our ministry may be too apologetic. A pulpit occupying itself pre-

dominantly with the defense of the Faith is undesirable and unwise. A Gospel minister who takes the truth of his message for granted and confidently gives it a positive proclamation with an air of unhesitating conviction, as did Spurgeon and Moody, is likely to carry conviction home to the heart of the average hearer and be a powerful preacher. It is possible to be unduly concerned for the defense of God's eternal truth. The foundations of the Christian Faith are deep and indestructible.

A reminiscence of college days is that the sophomores have a custom of burying mathematics. A mysterious procession of students winds through the night to some secluded spot and inters with singular ceremonies a number of volumes—algebra, geometry, or analytics. It is reported that they bury or burn mathematics somewhere every year. But no matter how often this grotesque ceremony is repeated, the bee still keeps to her geometry, building her cell on the same good old plan; the snowflake shapes its geometric polyhedrons as before; the comet keeps its calculable track; the planets roll along the same invisible elliptic grooves; the rifle ball follows its mathematic curve; the flood of crystal and emerald at Niagara still falls regular into the abyss; the trains of numeric reasoning still roll safe to sure conclusions along well-worn tracks that are not torn up nor spread apart; the square root and the cube root uncover themselves to the same old lines of approach; and the sailor still ciphers out with precision, by the aid of trustworthy logarithmic tables, his whereabouts on the great deep from shore to far-off shore.

Evidently nature has not heard of the funeral which the students conducted, and does not know that they have made an end of mathematics. Even the great omniscient God above does not seem to know of it, for he too still geometrizes. Moreover, this world's business still goes on by the rules of arithmetic, and the sophomores themselves presently find that there is not even physical subsistence for them—not so much as bread-and-butter salvation in this life except in accordance with the reckoning of the mathematics they buried.

As it is with the principles of the science of numbers, so it is with Christian truth. As the mathematical formulas, which were stamped even on the earliest cosmical vapors, refuse to be set aside by a ceremony, so the great spiritual laws, part and parcel of God's universe, of which Christianity is the exposi-

tion, are not to be set aside. And whenever we hear the toot-horns of those wise fools who attempt to dispose of the Bible, of Christianity, of God, and of religion, by no matter what ceremony, argument, resolutions, or dictum, we say to ourselves, "The sophomores are burying mathematics again;" and we know that they must presently come back to them and live by them or starve and perish.

The truth wants publishing and embodying more than it wants arguing and proving. Largely the Gospel carries its own evidences, goes armed with its own credentials. It has prevailed by proclamation and by its fruits rather than by syllogisms. It needs not defending as much as it needs obeying, and its primal command to all who accept it is, "Go, teach all nations." There is no occasion to fear that, while the Church is at work with might and main converting the nations, some small infidel will stick his tiny crowbar into the everlasting foundations of the Faith and pry them up. Our chief business is to give the truth a tongue and a temple in every land of human habitation, and then, though the antichristian sorcerers, fakirs, and medicine men perform their manifold incantations—though the skeptical sophomores go through the form of burying or burning the Christian mathematics as often as they please—they will not prevent the world from finding out that the foundation of God standeth sure, and that the Gospel of Jesus Christ furnishes the only working plan for human welfare, temporal and eternal.

THE UNDIMINISHED CHRIST.

The mythical theory concerning Jesus Christ is confessedly dead and done for, but upon this undeniably historic and mightily influential Personage criticism, rationalism, æstheticism, and naturalism make their attacks, each in its own way endeavoring to discrown the King of Glory.

1. The destructive biblical critics seek to undermine his throne by discrediting parts of Holy Scripture. They offer us a depreciated Christ on the authority of a mutilated New Testament. According to the best of such critics Jesus was a supremely admirable man, the flower of human kind, the greatest of spiritual seers, having a unique conception of the fatherly love of God and the brotherhood of man, a high moral idealism, and an absorbing enthusiasm for humanity, but was not superhuman

in any way, and not even a class by himself, either in nature or in character. The stories of his miraculous birth and wonder-working powers are discredited as pious fictions, poetic legends born of the exuberant oriental imagination. It is true that certain passages represent that he regarded himself as the long-looked-for Messiah, declared that he had power on earth to forgive sins, and that hereafter from the heavens he would judge the world; but the critics impeach these records, while others add that, even were the records authentic and genuine, his notions were extravagant delusions.

It is true, also, that certain passages make it appear that his followers believed he had risen from the dead, but supposing the passages trustworthy as to that belief, all the witnesses to the resurrection—the disciples, the women, the five hundred, and Paul only imagined that they saw him. Likewise the accounts of the transfiguration, the various epiphanies, and the ascension are treated by these critics as legendary.

When the destructive critics are done scissoring the New Testament and disparaging its accounts they offer us so much of a Christ as is left.

This diminished Christ we for many reasons peremptorily decline to accept, the nearest and most obvious reason, which we here emphasize, being the method by which they have produced and constructed their Christ. There is nowhere any admissible proof of such a Christ as theirs. We submit that they have no documentary warrant whatever for the sort of Jesus they present. They themselves have rent asunder, impeached, and discredited the records on the authority of certain patch worked fragments of which they ask us to accept their Jesus, an *alter Christus.* If the New Testament is not believable for what in its integrity it plainly teaches, then surely it is not to be quoted by bits in support of something different from what in its wholeness it affirms. The New Testament as explicitly declares that Jesus Christ was conceived by the Holy Ghost as that he was born at all; furnishes as strong a certainty that he performed miracles as that he did anything; presents as indubitable testimony that he made atonement for the sins of the world, rose from the tomb, and ascended into heaven as that he was condemned in Pilate's court and put to death by crucifixion. The records that are accepted as proof of the natural facts, which these critics concede in the history of Jesus Christ, are equally good

in support of the miraculous facts which their anti-supernatural presuppositions led them arbitrarily to reject. If those records are not trustworthy and adequate for our divine Christ, they are worthless for their merely human Jesus. And we repeat there is nowhere any warrant for the imaginary personage, whom they would impose upon us as a substitute for the supernatural, sinless, miracle-working, Forgiver, Saviour, and Lord of men. That personage they have constructed, as the German evolved his giraffe, out of their own independent, original, subjective imaginings. These dreamers may invent whatever fiction they please, but the point we press is that their notions are unsubstantiated, and not entitled to acceptance or respect from mankind. The unmutilated Bible still seems to us more trustworthy than the ingenious but baseless scheme which they have composed out of preferred fragments of it. They have not shown so much as one reason why we should not forever continue to adhere to a whole divine Christ presented and certified by the Bible as a whole.

2. A rationalistic philosophy also seeks to lower the level of Christian doctrine and change the nature of Christianity. It is seen at work in such subtle, insidious, and beguiling attacks on the supernatural basis of Christian faith as Pfleider's *Philosophy and Development of Religion*, and such attempts to eliminate supernatural elements as William Mackintosh's *Natural History of the Christian Religion*. Of similar tendency in parts seems McGiffert's *Apostolic Age*. Now evangelical Christians do not fear reason. Rather do we insist upon respect for its just authority. We claim for it a right and a duty to sit in judgment on the Bible and on Jesus Christ himself, in which judgment man is bound to exercise all his intellectual, moral, and spiritual faculties. We absolutely refuse to believe anything that is unreasonable. But, with a heart consenting to righteousness, human reason is a guide toward God, who is the eternal Reason. We rejoice that in a certain way and measure the understanding discovers and declares God. What we deny is that mankind have only such knowledge of God as the unaided natural faculties have attained. What we assert is that a knowledge transcending reason's reach has been given by a divine revelation supernaturally made to a selected and prepared people in trust for mankind, and yet more clearly and fully by that Life in which "the Word was made flesh, and

dwelt among us, full of grace and truth," the record of both being contained in a volume of Holy Scripture, divinely inspired and miraculously attested. Furthermore we affirm that nothing can be more reasonable than that the loving Father of spirits should reveal himself and his will to his spiritual children in supernaturally inspired communications. And we stoutly maintain that thoroughgoing evangelical Christianity is infinitely more rational than the theories of the rationalistic philosophers, many of whom are amazingly irrational. The utter futility of mere philosophy in the human reason's utmost achievement was confessed by George Henry Lewes, by no means an attorney for Christianity, who declared that philosophy has always failed to solve the capital problems of human existence; while a far greater Englishman, a keen, powerful, and profound thinker, who fearlessly investigated up and down through the vastness of problems, firmamental and abysmal, with the lightning flash of genius for a search-light, framed his great sum-total of conviction thus:

> I say the acknowledgment of God in Christ,
> Accepted by thy reason, solves for thee
> All questions in the earth and out of it,
> And hath so far advanced thee to be wise.

3. Modern culture, as it styles itself, applies its æsthetic intellectualism to the improvement of our long-accepted Christianity by elimination and reduction. A typical example is Matthew Arnold's dainty scheme for gentilizing current Christianity by removing such parts thereof as were obnoxious to his hyper-fastidious taste, the parts being those which are held dearest and most indispensable by evangelical faith. These culture-critics proceed to operate with polished and gleaming instruments upon the body of Christian doctrine for the excision of objectionable portions. The parts which we think vital they call vulgar, and their plan is to cleanse and beautify by evisceration. In the body of evangelical doctrine, as in the body of man, the blood-red vital organs are not elegant and ornamental. To a squeamish, effeminate, and unspiritual æstheticism their appearance may be as offensive as their nature and functions are inscrutable. So the prudish polite critic thinks it necessary to refine the body by removing them and casting them away. Then his delicate sensibilities experience a feeling of relief. But what he really has on his hands after the evisceration is only a *caput*

mortuum, certain to become presently more offensive as a whole than were any of the mysterious and miraculous vital parts which he has extirpated. Such is the sure result of reform by disemboweling and devitalization.

4. From the low level of physical science a remorseless doctrine of natural evolution extends its theories from the physical up to the intellectual and moral realms, and claims to explain all things from the nether side, denying in its extreme teaching that there is anything in heaven or earth not dreamed of in its purely naturalistic philosophy. It says that nothing has come down from heaven ; everything has crawled up from the slime. This beastly theory, like a huge gorilla, stretches up its grisly arms to drag down all mankind, body and soul, into mere sublimated animalism, not even excepting that Being whom the ripest intelligence and purest virtue of the ages adore as Saviour and Lord. It treats Christ as it treats everybody else, as a natural evolution from below. Human nature simply unfolded somewhat farther in him than in others, and he too like the rest is but a highly developed brute. Natural science dictates to philosophy, and philosophy so tutored undertakes to lay down the law to theology and religion. We are being instructed from some quarters that we must ask the naturalist what we may believe about our Lord and our Bible. And if we ask these naturalists we do not get permission, as sane and sensible beings, to so much as repeat the Lord's prayer. They bring us face to face with the question whether we shall quit praying because the mere physicist finds no warrant for it. They reduce Christianity to the level of other religions, and all to the plane of no religion, pure superstition from which the enlightenment of a scientific age, they think, should quickly deliver us.

To say that this doctrine of unbroken evolution merely shows a new and worthier method of divine operation, by regular rather than by irregular means, by constant progression rather than by leaps, cataclysms, and abrupt innovations, from one all-inclusive beginning instead of several successive origins—this does not satisfy the Christian demand. For we have to ask where, on this theory, is any clear evidence of the Divine at all, and particularly where is any sure message or word of God? This knowledge of God which Christians believe themselves to have has come into the world through a supernatural revelation to ancient Israel, and through the Holy One of Israel, our

Saviour. The naturalistic doctrine referred to requires us to throw away all this. And then where are any oracles of God and what do we know from him or about him? The miracles of the Old Testament and of the New gave men glimpses of the power divine which is behind nature and works through it, certifying to them the God who makes and moves all things. The divine One also spoke to men. In these ways Israel knew of him. But when the doctrine of a purely natural evolution shuts those glimpses up, what certain knowledge of God does it give us to replace what we have lost? Science, no more than philosophy, possesses the key to the phenomena of man's religious nature, and neither of them can explain, on its own level, the Christianity whose forces play so mighty and magnificent a part in the history and progress of mankind.

Evangelical scholarship must resist with all its might and with confidence of victory these efforts of destructive biblical criticism and philosophic rationalism and cultured astheticism and scientific naturalism to drag down the Christ of God from the manifest miraculousness which made doubting Thomas cry, "My Lord and my God!" and from the place he held when martyr Stephen lifted his dying eyes to heaven and saw him at the right hand of God.

The most inconsequential, errant, and, in fact, preposterous books are those which revise the Scriptures and reduce the Christ and reconstrue the Christian history in conformity with pure naturalism, and then assume that the essentials of Christianity can be retained after the supernatural and superhuman have been eliminated from it. The disparagers of Christ have not manufactured any supposititious Jesus who could possibly be so ignorant and so self-deceived as they are when they imagine that they and their ilk can repudiate revelation, miracles, the specially inspired Bible, and the divine Christ, yet still continue to enjoy the Christian inheritance and breathe the Christian air. Such men seem to us to say, "Take away the candle, but we will keep the flame." They abolish the sun out of their sky, and all that remains to them is life by starlight, with which alone they must find their way and do their work and raise their crops in a chilled and darkened world. Professor James Iverach, of Aberdeen, says:

> In certain circles it is the fashion to make Christianity a mere phase of natural religion. Lecturers, both Gifford and Hibbert, seem to like the practice, for it

enables them to enrich their schemes of natural religion with all the ethical and spiritual wealth of the contents of the Christian religion. On the whole it is a question whether you can produce the fruit when you have cut down the tree. Apart from Christ, Christianity does not amount to much. Take the risen Christ away, and what have you? Take away the Christ who can help, and save, and bless men to-day, and you have taken away the essential and distinctive characteristic of Christianity, and what remains is not worth fighting about.

The religion which undertakes to do without the supernatural is no religion; it neither has the nature nor can do the work of a religion. The British government clerk who, a few years ago, leaped into repute as an author with his book on *Social Evolution*, was quite correct in saying that there never can be such a thing as a merely rational religion. "It is a scientific impossibility, representing from the nature of the case an inherent contradiction of terms." No belief is capable of functioning as a religion which does not contain supernatural elements and provide super-rational (not anti-rational) standards and sanctions for the regulation of human conduct. Precisely the one essential which makes a real religion is belief in the supernatural. And Christianity is the supreme religion, largely because it has most authentic and impressive supernatural tokens that it comes from God.

The reductionists who desire to dispense with the Lord of life and King of glory cause a recent writer to remark that "We perceive how inherently hopeless and misdirected is the effort of those who try to do what Grégoire attempted to make the authors of the French Revolution do—reorganize Christianity without believing in Christ." In a letter dated Rome, 1859, Mrs. Browning wrote of meeting "Theodore Parker, who has been writing a little Christmas book for the young to prove how they should keep Christmas without a Christ." In such an attempt neither youth nor age could feel any more enthusiasm than Mr. Hale's Man Without a Country would feel in celebrating Washington's Birthday or the Fourth of July.

The searching and critical mind of George John Romanes at last confessed, "It is Christianity or nothing;" and it is equally clear that the choice for mankind is either the undiminished superhuman Christ, the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world, as well as the true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, or agnosticism and the blackness of darkness forever.

THE ARENA.

AN UNAPPRECIATED BENEFIT OF LITERARY STUDY.*

Literary study is as necessary to the preacher as biblical study, though not for the same reason nor to the same extent. Indeed, it is indispensable in order that a man may have insight into the human heart, sentences that may be quoted with tremendous effect, and a breadth and comprehensiveness of culture which will save him from sciolism, narrowness, fanaticism, and will give him a genial and large-minded view of life and the world. Even if for no other use than as a quarry for illustrations, literature is of more value than all books of illustrations. For this purpose alone Shakespeare is worth all the homiletic commentaries which a famous publishing house not a hundred miles from Astor Library has been circulating among the clergy with a diligence worthy of a better cause. It is not, however, of these uses of literature that we now speak, but of the value of the study of literature for its influence on the preacher's style.

If it be said that in a Church like ours which cultivates extemporaneous preaching there is no occasion for this benefit of literary study—that it may be needed by preachers who use a manuscript, but not by those who preach offhand—we answer that this is a hasty conclusion: for certainly the man who forms his sentences while speaking needs the power to utter himself with force, simplicity, and perspicuity, if not with elegance and beauty; and one important source of that power is a thorough knowledge of the English classics. In fact, the extemporaneous speaker needs to be specially reinforced here, because he has not the leisure and quiet of his study in which to give his thoughts their most effective expression. Every moment it is either now or never with him. If he speaks clumsily, confusedly, with repetitions and expletives, he has no opportunity of correcting himself. He thus mars his message, and in that measure destroys its power. And if he is wordy and thinks that his extraordinary verbal gift will take the place of literary discipline and fit him for preaching, he deceives himself. He is swamped in words; there is no point nor sting in his sermon, and men come away as if from an entertainment, saying, "Words, words, mere words; no matter from the heart." If the preacher wishes to speak well and strongly, let him saturate himself in the English classics. Henry Ward Beecher and Richard Salter Storrs are illustrations of what literary study can do for extemporaneous preachers. From other fountains of power these men had indeed drunk deeply and

*An address delivered at the annual meeting of the Browning Club of Drew Theological Seminary.

long, but this they had not neglected. Is it not possible that the decline of churchgoing is due in a measure to the lack of skill and strength and beauty in the manner of utterance on the part of extemporaneous preachers? The preacher must do two things at once: he must give forth thoughts that are true, fresh, stimulating, interesting, and edifying on themes that have been threshed a thousand times, and he must do this in a style that is clear, effective, and attractive, and this to the same congregation twice a Sunday year after year. If he fails in either thought or style, he does not reach his highest success. From such a burden as that Atlas might desire to be excused. As a matter of fact, many extemporaneous preachers are in style tedious, repetitious, feeble, and sometimes even vulgar. And this may have something to do with the lapse of some from church attendance and the transference of others to churches where a different method of sermonizing prevails.

Does anyone here say, How can you speak to us of the value of literary study in forming our style as preachers, when this club is devoted to the study of a poet who has attained preeminent success, one might almost say, without any style at all, or with a style so crabbed, obscure, difficult, and rugged that it reminds one of the sacred writer's description of primeval chaos—a world waste and formless where darkness was upon the face of the deep? We answer that Browning is not without use even in this humble ministry of which we speak. A study of many of his poems will serve to give terseness, clear-cut energy, and virile strength to style, just as the study of Longfellow, Lowell, and Tennyson will serve for other qualities. Indeed, in that great masterpiece which this club has been studying this winter, "The Ring and the Book," there are passages as splendidly beautiful as any in Tennyson. And, again, Browning has so many other qualities which make him worthy of study that he must be listened to in spite of his Æschylus-like style, craggy and frowning. Mr. G. Barnett Smith states the secret of Browning's appeal when he says: "As a poet Browning is distinguished for his capacity in the creation of real men and women, and also for the depth of his spiritual insight. His lyrical faculty, dramatic energy, and power of psychological analysis have rarely been equaled. Besides being one of the most erudite of poets, he has intense human sympathy and high imaginative gifts, and a profound and vigorous faith." Now, when the preacher can present those gifts, or their equivalents in his own sphere with like wealth, then he may without fatal injury imitate Browning in his obscurity of style.

That literary expression ought not to be despised by a religious teacher can be easily illustrated by examples. One of the chief reasons for the power and attractiveness of that great manifesto of Episopalianism, Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, perhaps the first book of distinction in modern English prose, is its style. That has preserved it and invests it with continued influence, while Presbyterian

works written against it have been forgotten. This also is in part the secret of Jeremy Taylor and John Howe, and in a less degree Richard Baxter. They knew how to write, and so they live to-day. It was a matter of vast importance that when Methodism was born she had a leader who could explain and defend her teachings in a style which for clearness and force has never been excelled. Fletcher was not the equal of Wesley in this regard, but when we remember he wrote in a foreign tongue the smoothness and strength of his style is remarkable. Besides, it was Methodism's incalculable loss that in those formative years she had not a race of preachers whose culture and intellectual power were equal to their zeal and orthodoxy. The late Professor George R. Crooks said that the loss to evangelicalism of Sir Walter Scott on account of the crassness and coarseness of the evangelical preachers whom he heard was in its historical influence of more moment than the adhesion of thousands of lesser minds. Methodism assuredly has been called to more important work than literary culture. But, after all, our loss in this respect has been a real one. To win the strongest minds we must be able to attract and feed the strongest minds. Speaking now of books which illustrate this literary failure on our part, we do not fail to recognize their many and noble excellencies in other respects. Contrast the late Dr. Kidder's *Homiletics*, in this matter of literary expression, with Professor Hoppin's *Homiletics*, or with that book of marvelous virility, suggestiveness, and attractiveness, the late Professor Shedd's *Homiletics and Pastoral Theology*. This last was a master mind steeped through and through in the study of great books. Or in systematic theology compare our Methodist standards —we mean in this matter of style—with Professor Shedd's *Theology*, or even Hodge. How lucid, strong, interesting is Professor Shedd! This one merit will give his Calvinism a life it would not otherwise have. In fact, how much of the influence of Calvin's *Institutes* in the Reformation period was due to its marvelously pure and forceful Latin we may never know.

In the matter of preaching our plea receives reinforcement from great examples like South, Barrow, Taylor in their day, and from Robert Hall and Chalmers in this century. Even the strong, homely, vivid style of Spurgeon is an illustration of what poring over books of an elder age in English theology will do. He immersed himself in the Puritan divines of the seventeenth century. But he did not confine himself to them, as he was an ardent reader of Shakespeare. Perhaps the most notable example of literary power, however, is Frederick W. Robertson, whose sermons may be taken as at the same time a perfect instance of beautiful, unhackneyed, effective expression, and a strong, living, real message of the Gospel to the age. A most remarkable instance of the power of literary culture is New England Unitarianism. Compare the writings of Channing with those of Samuel Worcester and Moses Stuart. The books of Channing are reprinted in cheap form and circulated by thousands to

this day, while the abler and sounder treatises of the old orthodox divines are forgotten. It is by their literary distinction alone that the sound of the Unitarians has gone out into the world—Channing, Parker, Hedge, Longfellow, Lowell, Chadwick.

To all young ministers we say, If you would make your sermons strong, interesting, forceful, perspicuous, give your days and nights to the study of the English classics, especially to the masters of English prose.

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THE SADDUCEE IN METHODISM.

IN the March-April *Review* there is an article from the facile pen of Dr. Tuttle on "The Pharisee in Methodism." Without specially controverting the positions assumed by Dr. Tuttle, it may not be out of place to call attention to the fact that the Sadducee is in Methodism, as well as his ancient enemy, the Pharisee. Now, the Sadducee denied the authority of all revelation, and was skeptical with regard to the miraculous and supernatural. He gave himself up to ease and self-indulgence, accepted Greek culture, and viewed with indifferent liberality the laxity of heathen morals and even idol worship. It is not surprising that Jesus was not a Sadducee. "They were widely and hopelessly asunder. The dividing line was an impassable gulf." They were the materialists of our Lord's day, and believed in neither angel nor spirit.

The broad-gauge Methodist has his prototype in the ancient Sadducee, and in these days one does not need to go far to find him. He is ready to throw overboard all the old methods simply because they are old, and to take on new ones simply because they are new. He does not stop to inquire whether the new method will be a success; to know that it is new is enough. Though the old methods still "throb with life" whenever they are faithfully used, and, like the brazen serpent in the wilderness, instrumentally cure all that use them in sincerity and in truth, they are discarded, though the people die of the serpent bite of sin. The Sadducee can get along with many cups, one cup, or no cup at all, for with him the Lord's Supper is meaningless. The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ has no atoning merit, as it was not necessary that any atonement should be made. The fall of man was a fall upward, not downward.

As to the Bible, the Sadducee regards it as a venerable volume, to be respectfully treated, but largely, if not wholly, a human production. His view of the Bible is properly characterized by Dr. Storrs in one sentence: "'Thus saith the Lord,' which commanded our fathers' immediate assent, now means to many, 'Thus saith somebody, nobody knows exactly who, reported by somebody else, of the correctness of whose report we can in nowise be certain.'" The Sadducee boasts about holding no idolatrous views of the letter of the book, and it really contains for him no law that is binding or rule of faith that he must adopt.

As to forms of worship or symbols of faith, the Sadducee in Methodism is quite indifferent, except that they must be modern. He has broken all the "ancient molds" and is striving to make new ones, but has not achieved a signal success. However grotesque the forms or crude the creed, they must have one virtue: they must be different from those approved by the Church. His service grows more elaborate as spirituality decreases, and so is never finished; and his creed more liberal as his skepticism increases, and is therefore always incomplete. He not only repudiates the Apostles' Creed, but the creed of his own Church as well, though he is utterly unable to construct one for himself. In fact, as to creed he is at sea, and there is no land in sight.

The Sadducee in Methodism talks much about "personal liberty." No Church shall interfere with either his habits or amusements. No matter that he has solemnly vowed that he will "cheerfully obey the rules" of the Church; he openly and defiantly sets those rules aside when they infringe upon his "personal liberty." He seems to forget that true "personal liberty" is found in his right to withdraw from the Church, rather than in violating its rules. The same doctrine of personal liberty which declines to allow the Church to lay its "withering hand" upon his habits or amusements may with equal propriety refuse any interference in faith or morals, which at once puts an end to all Church authority and discipline.

If the "Pharisee is with us, clad in the garments of a holy traditionalism," there is also with us a far more dangerous personage, namely, the Methodist Sadducee, who, like the wolf in the sheep's clothing, herds with the flock only to devour it. By all means keep watch on the Pharisee, but at the same time remember that the Sadducee is in our Methodist fold also.

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DECLINE IN CHURCH MUSIC.

WHILE many are inquiring, "What is the matter with the Church?" and each has his special reason for, and cure of, the supposed trouble, we wish to mention one thing which in our opinion is largely responsible for much of our leanness. We mean the wide diffusion of sentimental gush in the name of sacred song, supplanting the grand old hymns of Wesley and Watts, to which the Psalms of David alone are superior. Of this exalted poetry and music little is known by the average congregation, these being set aside for miserable jingle and doggerel. Thus we have a generation of Methodists as unfamiliar with our standard hymnology as Samson with the snare of Delilah, and robust, spiritual godliness suffers accordingly.

In this connection would it be improper or invidious to mention another unhappy defection from early Methodism? I refer to the failure of hearty congregational singing, which may have resulted from the usual performance of the present choir. Both piety and common sense have become wearied with the vast amount of silly

drivel which has been substituted for the majestic strains of the better days. We do not raise the perennial question of the worth or worthlessness of the modern choir; but we firmly insist that its methods have almost entirely destroyed spontaneous worship of song, and have thereby greatly lessened the charm and vitality of the olden time, when the people while "waiting for the preacher" would sing so lustily and fervently that angels seemed bending to hear. Now they sit as listeners while the choir screams out an unintelligible jargon; and this, *par excellence*, is the "beginning of service," in the house of the Lord among "the people called Methodists." What wonder if the celestial spirits hover sadly above us, and mournfully exclaim, "Ichabod is written upon the palaces of her power. While she has a name to live, she is in reality well-nigh spiritually dead."

How much more of this folly must our Church endure? When shall she inquire for the "old paths," and walk therein? Who among us that is strong will smite this unseemly idol that it may fall, like Dagon before the ark of God, into the dust of everlasting oblivion? Speak, and thou shalt be heard and praised in the gates.

York, Pa. J. B. MANN.

REFORMERS' OBSTACLES TO REFORM.

IN the March-April *Review* Professor Bowne treats us to an original paper on "Aberrant Moralizers." From his high throne in the world of logic and metaphysics he looks down and with a wave of his hand drives from the field all "pulpit reformers and professional philanthropists." Yet he must know that his criticisms not only include "aberrant moralizers," but inflict punishment upon Luther, Calvin, Wesley, Knox, Mrs. Stowe, Miss Willard, *et id genus omne.* If he will only formulate a line of reformation that does not involve "hysteria and nightmares and pharisaism," he may keep the speech-makers and letter-writers out of the newspapers. The world would fain "distinguish between abstract principles and their concrete application." It is to be regretted that our brother seems to put the question of using fermented wine at the communion service in the category where "all morality disappears in mechanical pettiness." If he were a pastor or a presiding elder he would have learned that reformed drunkards dare not risk even a sip of fermented wine, and that the smell of it has roused the sleeping tiger to the destruction of the communicant. And his fling that a prominent temperance organization discovered danger in root beer was unfortunate. If the wives and mothers occupying the low level of home have found the adversary where theological professors find only theological microbes, it is no sin if they try to run that adversary out of his lair.

The center of the road is the safest, and yet we cannot believe that reformers are obstacles to reform. And we must be careful not to be so intolerant of the convictions of those less wise than we as to raise the suspicion that we deem ourselves Sir Oracles.

Los Angeles, Cal. W. R. GOODWIN.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE EXAMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR THE MINISTRY.

As a Church our methods have necessarily been peculiar, because they were called forth by exigencies that required new methods of work and new modes of training. Many of Mr. Wesley's colaborers had little of the lore of this world; but they knew Christ "and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings," and this experimental knowledge connected with original gifts made these heralds of the great salvation far more effective than the polished scholars from Oxford and Cambridge when destitute of this deep Christian experience. At Mr. Wesley's Conferences, however, they had a theological school of a high order. How carefully they were taught to understand the cardinal doctrines and to discriminate between the true and the false! His method of emphasizing great truths might well be imitated by all who aim to raise up an effective ministry. The accurate discriminations on doctrines made at Mr. Wesley's Conferences are very instructive still.

The establishment of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this country led to independent legislation on this subject. For many years no formal scholastic examination seems to have been required, but satisfactory assurances were given, nevertheless, by the candidates of their fitness for work of the ministry. In 1816 it was made the duty of the bishops, or of a committee which they should appoint at each Annual Conference, to frame a course of reading and study proper to be pursued by candidates for the ministry, and it was made the duty of the presiding elder to direct the candidates to the studies so recommended. In 1844 this work was assigned to the bishops only, the appointment of the committee being stricken out, and at that time, also, the course of study was made four years in length. In 1860 it was made the duty of the bishops "to prescribe a course of study in English literature and in science, upon which those applying for admission upon trial in the Annual Conferences shall be examined and approved before such admission." This is the substance of our legislation on this subject to date.

It may not be amiss for us to consider the methods of examination employed in some of the other denominations. The Protestant Episcopal Church follows an entirely different method from our own. As soon as a young man graduates from college he is received and registered by the bishop of the diocese, having been suitably recommended as a postulant or applicant for orders. Such college graduation, however, is not essential. A candidate for priest's orders ordinarily is required to spend three years before he becomes a deacon, but the bishop may with consent of three quarters of the

standing committee shorten the term of his candidateship, but in no instance shall the time be shortened to less than six months. A person thirty-five years of age, who is a graduate in arts and otherwise qualified, may also after examination be admitted at once to deacon's orders, and after one year more to priest's orders. His college course covers his literary preparation. His examinations are chiefly biblical, theological, and ecclesiastical, conducted by a committee duly appointed. Candidates for priest's orders can also obtain a dispensation from Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and other branches of learning not strictly ecclesiastical by a vote of two thirds of the standing committee, approved by the bishop of the diocese.

The method of entering the ministry of the Presbyterian Church, which is the most severe in its requirements of any denomination except the Reformed, is about as follows: The candidate is admitted to the theological seminary on his college diploma and a certificate of good standing as a Christian from the church of which he is a member. In the senior year of his theological course, or sometimes in the middle year, he applies to be admitted to the Presbytery as a licentiate, that is, to be licensed to preach. He is examined before the Presbytery on theology, Church government, and the sacraments, and also by a standing committee in the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, and if found satisfactory is licensed, but not ordained. His college course relieves the candidate from examination in Latin and Greek and in general science and literature. He is next examined, when he has received a call to a church, on his theological views and on Christian experience. He must also at this time present a Latin thesis, an exposition of a passage from the Greek Testament previously assigned, a written lecture, and also deliver a sermon before the Presbytery. He is then installed as pastor of the church, and his examinations are ended. It is not absolutely necessary, but it is the almost universal custom, that he shall formally pass through the college and theological seminary before his ordination. He must, however, pass the required examinations. Three years from his graduation at college will suffice to meet all the requirements of his theological course and his entrance into full orders.

The method of training in the Methodist Church of Canada is interesting because this is a Methodist body working under conditions similar to those prevailing among ourselves. Their action in ministerial education has been formulated with much care. Both their preliminary course for admission to Conference and the course for admission into full membership are worthy of careful study. An examination of their Discipline brings out the following facts:

1. The examination of probationers who are in the colleges or universities shall be by examiners appointed by the authorities of such institutions, and their moral character and qualification for the ministry must be determined by the College District Meeting, composed of ministerial members of the faculty, in each case, and the ministers of the church residing in the place where the institution

is located, the chairman of the district presiding, or in his absence the dean of the theological faculty.

2. "Graduates in divinity shall be exempted from the ordinary course of study. In the case of probationers who, by permission of the faculties of the Conferences to which they belong, are pursuing the B. D. course in any of our theological colleges, the annual examination in such course shall be accepted instead of the annual examination in the regular course for any year."

3. A certificate that the student has passed on any subject in one of the colleges shall be taken in lieu of an examination on such particular subject.

4. The course of study for those in the arts is three years, and the examination must be conducted at colleges.

5. They allow substitutions, as, for example, the substitution of the B. D. course for the Conference course, and also Hebrew for historical theology.

6. All their students must study the Greek Testament prior to ordination.

This consideration of the method of examination in other Churches leads us to inquire what changes should take place in the course of study prescribed for our own ministers. It seems clear that the Church in its forms of examination should encourage the critical study of God's word. Our present method gives no encouragement to study the Bible in the original languages. The Church has established academies, colleges, and theological seminaries to prepare her students for the ministry. The theological schools are intended to promote the study of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, as well as general theological culture. It is not claimed that every candidate should be profoundly versed in the original languages, but it is of great importance that the Church should raise up a ministry adequate to meet the most advanced questions in these departments. In order to the best biblical scholarship there must be an acquaintance with the languages in which the Scriptures were originally written, and our plea is that there should be in our course of study provision for the official examination in the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures. The absence of such an examination deprives our young men of a stimulus very necessary for high training. As the course of study is at present constituted, young men pursue these studies only out of a desire to learn, and not from any inspiration derived from Church requirements. The inspiration for scholarship always connects itself to a greater or less degree with the religious life, but it should also be encouraged in the organic forms of the Church. The student's sole inspiration under present forms, that he may thereby be better able to expound the word of God, is a noble one; but it seems that a stimulus such as comes from an examination in these studies would be very desirable.

The Church should also continue to make allowance for previous work done in institutions of learning. The denominations to which

we have referred make such provision, and the experience of our own Church during the past quadrennium justifies its continuance. This is in harmony with the method adopted in the highest institutions of learning. Most of the colleges of the country accept certificates from academies and other schools which they regard as worthy. Theological seminaries accept a college diploma accompanied by a suitable certificate of Christian and ministerial standing for admission to their course of study. It is customary for literary institutions of all kinds to receive students *ad eundem*. These certificates give assurance that the candidates have been in residence at some worthy institution of learning and have passed its regular curriculum; they also discourage abridged courses, and thus prevent hasty preparation. This method also serves to strengthen our schools and colleges by paying them due respect and by making them careful as to those to whom they give their diplomas. This system has an excellent effect upon the whole character of the student's work, and induces consecutiveness in the course of study very helpful in promoting accurate scholarship. Most teachers would prefer the certificates of a competent faculty to their own examination of a candidate; those who have seen the student and have heard his recitations day after day necessarily know his qualifications in character and scholarship better than those who examine him only for a few hours.

It would also be well to enlarge the preliminary course for admission to an Annual Conference. This is necessary in order to study with success many of the books now prescribed by the bishops. There are parts of that course on which a young man who has no knowledge of Hebrew and Greek cannot pass a satisfactory examination except by the courtesy of the examiners. Even those books in the higher forms of literature and theology demand for their thorough mastery a preliminary course more extended than that now required for admission to Conference.

There should also be in theological preparation greater attention devoted to the mastery of the English language, especially to the study of the English Bible. Much as we should emphasize the study of the original languages, the day should never come when the English Bible will not be dear to all our preachers. It was recommended by our fathers that the young preachers should study Young's *Night Thoughts* for the culture of style. We may smile at this advice, but it is not to be despised. The study of the best English authors will give force both to the thought and diction of the preacher. A better book, however, for the culture of style is our English Bible. In these days of Christian workers who are thoroughly trained for their special service, when the Bible is being expounded by the leaders of our Christian Associations and our Epworth Leagues, it is fitting that those who stand in our pulpits and give instruction to these workers should have had at least such training as has been indicated.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

ECCLESIASTICUS.

THE apocryphal book of Jesus ben Sirach, commonly called "Ecclesiasticus," has been attracting great attention of late among the higher critics of the world. For the past ten months column after column of the *Expository Times* has been devoted to the discussion of this book. The controversy, however, does not concern itself about the genuineness of Ecclesiasticus; for, by common consent, the statement made in the introduction to this apocryphon is regarded by all critics as true, namely, that the book was first written in Hebrew and afterward translated by a grandson of the author into Greek. It is needless to say that no scholar, up to about four or five years ago, claimed that we had a single page of the original text, but merely few isolated citations here and there in the rabbinical writings of the Jews—and, indeed, even these may have been derived from secondary sources. Our knowledge of the book as a whole was entirely derived from the versions, especially from the Greek translation.

Some years ago a celebrated Semitic scholar, Dr. Margoliouth, Laudian professor of Arabic at Oxford, a man thoroughly versed in both rabbinical and biblical Hebrew, translated the accepted Greek version into Hebrew. The result of his work was a revelation to himself, if to nobody else; for he contended, on purely linguistic grounds, that the Hebrew from which the Greek had been made must have been rabbinical rather than classical or biblical. We have no desire at this time to review his arguments, but simply add that his conclusions had an important bearing upon historical criticism, especially as regarding the so-called postexilic portions of the Old Testament. He contended that such books as Daniel and Ecclesiastes could not have been written in the same age as Ecclesiasticus—that is, about the beginning of the second century before our era—since everything about these two canonical books, when compared with the writings of Sirach, shows that they must have been written centuries earlier, or about the time usually assigned them by conservative theologians. The critics of the modern school very naturally rejected such revolutionary deductions, and proved to their own satisfaction that the learned Oxford professor was nothing more than a consummate dreamer.

Scarcely had this war of words ended when two ladies from England while traveling in Palestine purchased from a dealer in antiquities several old manuscripts, among them a fragment of one in Hebrew which on closer examination turned out to be a leaf of a very ancient copy of Ecclesiasticus. While this leaf was being edited and prepared for the press other similar leaves, brought by

Professor Sayce from Egypt to England and deposited in the Bodleian Library, were brought to the notice of the public. These nine leaves found at Oxford are not only a portion of the same manuscript as that to which the leaf found by Mrs. Lewis belongs, but evidently a continuation of the same. The fact that the Palestinian leaf is somewhat mutilated at the bottom explains why verse 8 of chapter xl is wanting. To be more explicit, the first leaf has chap. xxxix, 15-xl, 7; the Oxford leaves, chap. xl, 9-xlix, 11.*

The Hebrew scholars of the world rejoiced greatly at the discovery of what most of them believed to be the original Hebrew of a book written between 200 and 170 B. C., since it enabled them not only to disprove Margoliouth's conclusions, but, what was much more important, afforded them a standard by which they might compare the Hebrew of the early part of the second century before the Christian era with that used in the late Old Testament books, several of which, according to the more radical critics, have been written about the same time as Ecclesiasticus. Now, as the language of ben Sirach, as we see by these fragments, is as purely classical as that used in some of the canonical books, there is, we are assured with great plausibility, only one conclusion possible, namely, that such books as Daniel and Ecclesiastes must have been written in Sirach's age. Thus the matter stood for about three years, when Professor Margoliouth appeared once more on the field of battle. Early last summer he published a *brochure* entitled *The Origin of the Original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus.* In this he boasts that he has, by a ruse, outwitted the higher critics of the radical school; that he has caught them napping and has led them into a miserable trap; and, further, that they have misdated a document, which they have been pleased to call "The Original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus," by at least one thousand three hundred years. Professor Margoliouth does not mean that the critics maintain that these very leaves have come down from the time of Sirach, but rather that the fragments contain a true copy of the very words written by the author of Ecclesiasticus, some two hundred years before Christ, barring, of course, few unimportant corruptions incident to frequent copying and re-editing. Now, Professor Margoliouth claims that the fragments are not the original Hebrew at all, but rather a very indifferent translation made into Hebrew from other versions at least a thousand years after Christ; or, to be more specific, he contends that the fragment is a "retranslation into Hebrew out of a Syriac and Persian translation." He further maintains that "the translator was an Arab; at least Arabic was his native language; but he had learned Persian, and he lived after 1000 A. D."

Professor Margoliouth sent copies of the pamphlet to some of the

* Here we may mention that two other fragments of Sirach (in Hebrew) were recently discovered in the British Museum: the one containing chaps. iii-xvi, and the other chap. xxx, 11-ii, 30. As these have no relation whatever to the above mentioned, we shall say nothing concerning them except that they are regarded by Professor König as genuine Hebrew.

learned periodicals, and with this a challenge to the critics to disprove his conclusions. Having thus assailed the enemy upon his own territory, and having held up the critics to ridicule, it is but natural that several distinguished Hebraists should enter the lists, among them Professor König of Rostock, Bacher of Budapest, Schecter of Cambridge, Bickel of Vienna, and others less known. Professor Bickel leans strongly to the views of Margoliouth; so does Israel Levi, who, in an article in the *Revue des Études Juives*, argues with great learning that the Cambridge and Oxford fragments cannot be of Cairene origin. Levi does not accept all the arguments of the Oxford professor, but arrives at the same conclusions independently. Thus, should the critics overthrow Margoliouth's position, they will still have to reckon with the French Jewish *savant*. Among the periodicals which have opened their columns to the critics we may name the *Jewish Review*, the *Critical Review*, the *Expository Times*, as well as some French and German organs of the learned societies. Professor König, especially, has written at great length in the *Expository Times*, and has published a book on the subject. He strongly opposes Margoliouth at every point, and he scouts the idea that the fragments found can be anything but original Hebrew. He does not, however, deny that there may be some glosses and corruptions and many marginal notes made centuries later by copyists who may have had other copies or, indeed, other versions before them for comparison. He also admits that there are some Arabic words, which, however, were taken by the original writer from the Arabic tribes surrounding Palestine about 200 B. C. He stoutly contends that the fragments show no traces whatever of Persian. Professor Bacher, though in the main agreeing with König, yet in his article on Margoliouth's pamphlet frankly says, "Parts of this *brochure* are capable of stupefying one at the first moment, and certainly testify to the acumen and intelligence of their author."

In reading these learned papers one is struck at once with their inconclusiveness. Though written for the most part in a scholarly manner, it is evident that learned men are trying to prove what they do not know. This, by the way, is very true of much of the biblical criticism of our day. No one can read Professor Margoliouth's pamphlet without wondering at the audacity of its author, nor can one look through the lengthy articles of Professor König without being convinced that the arguments of his opponent cannot be brushed away with a few strokes of the pen. But whether Margoliouth or König be right concerning the origin of the fragment of ben Sirach, the discussion which has centered about the question proves very conclusively that such historical criticism, notwithstanding the vain boasts and claims of some higher critics, is far from being one of the exact sciences. König constructs his theory out of very slender threads, and adduces very weak arguments to show that the fragment must be the original Hebrew.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

TWELVE YEARS OF MISSIONARY EPISCOPACY IN INDIA.

It is now twelve years since Bishop Thoburn was given episcopal supervision of India and Malaysia. In his address at the last session of the Central (General) Conference of India he reviews the advance of the work within this period, and notices the policy of the free admission of the Indians to the ordained ministry. This will not strike some of our readers with force. Yet it was long and earnestly debated in the early years of the Mission as to whether these native preachers could be trusted with the responsibilities of membership in the Annual Conference, where they would soon outnumber the Americans and might at any time outvote them on questions of policy or finance. Bishop Thoburn maintains that it has been wise on the whole to admit them freely, though many and grievous mistakes have been made in the selection of individuals. He declares it was better "a thousand times" to have accepted the present policy than to have waited through long years in comparative idleness for the appearance of better candidates who were never likely to come. We must give the people a Christian Church, he says, with wide open doors and common privileges free to all believers. The promotion of Indian preachers to be presiding elders has shown the people that, if India is to be converted, hundreds of preachers and officers must be taken from the common ranks.

The expansion of the work under Bishop Thoburn's administration has been rapid and great. When he entered office he had with Bishop Hurst just gained the reluctant recognition of the work at Singapore; now we have the Malaysia Conference and the more distant Philippines. Besides, while this episcopal supervision extends to the gates of Tibet on the north, all through northern and western India the preachers have penetrated towns and villages where twelve years ago they had no thought of going. Among the special manifestations of development Bishop Thoburn finds the presence of enthusiasm which was not found in the early days of the work; this enthusiasm he holds to be essential to successful Christian labor. Now, he says, vast audiences are stirred with deep religious feeling as they join in singing songs of praise, and specially when singing what might be called the Christian war songs of the coming crusades which are to bring India to Christ.

The bishop himself is a bundle of intelligent enthusiasm. But he always recognizes his bearings, and so he adds: "We are still living in the day of small things, comparatively; but these tokens of progress and of increasing life and strength assure us that during the brief period now closing we have been accumulating mental, moral, and spiritual material which will prove of invaluable service in the early years of the coming century." Much interest will also

attach to the following personal reference made by the bishop: "If spared a few months longer, I shall have completed twelve years of service as superintendent of our missions in southern Asia. For reasons well understood by you all, it may be taken for granted that the General Conference will not again ask me to assume alone a responsibility which is manifestly beyond my strength. Whatever changes may or may not be made, I assume without question that I am about to lay down, in part, at least, a burden which was beyond the strength of any one man at the outset, and which has been steadily increasing ever since. It is not probable that the peculiar conditions which have prevailed during these twelve years will be repeated; and it may even be that this brief period will take its place in the history of our mission as, in a manner, a preparatory episode, during which we have learned many invaluable lessons, and in some measure, at least, it may be hoped, have learned how to adjust ourselves to the stupendous task which will confront us in the early years of the new century."

MISSIONARY STATESMANSHIP.

KARL LUDWIG KRAPF is a name destined to perpetual remembrance in connection with the redemption of Africa. With him and his associate, John Rebmann, began the wonderful discoveries of the last half century of African exploration. They were a year ahead of Livingstone, the South African factor in unveiling Africa. Rebmann's discovery of Mount Kilimanjaro, in 1848, was the stimulus of Baikie and Barth, of Burton and Speke, and even of Livingstone's discovery of Lake Nyassa; for, without knowing that Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza had been discovered, the latter pressed on to find the inland sea of which Rebmann had heard.

Krapf was a missionary statesman as well as hero. Fifty-five years ago, his wife and child having died, he dragged himself from his fever bed to superintend their burial, there being no one else to do it. He went back to his bed, not disheartened, though his heart affections lay buried. He was lonely and still ill, but if he could not work he could think. Think and plan he did. Some thought his plans were those of a fevered brain, chimerical at the best. One of these plans—wild-looking enough then—was that a chain of missions should be established straight across Africa from Mombasa to the Gaboon on the equator, West Africa. That "chain" is not yet realized. If anything, it is as little or less probable than it was when Krapf, two months before his death, in 1881, wrote that missionary agents must "not faint and not rest until a chain of stations has connected East and West Africa, whatever the world and our own incredulity may have to say against this great missionary scheme." That was thirty-seven years after he worked out the thought on his sick bed, by the new grave of his wife and child.

But a great idea is a species of inspiration—if not of revelation—

though the discoverer rarely gets more than a crude conception of what is to be realized from his idea, whether in the department of geography, economics, science, or government. The fundamental plan that Krapf cherished was to bisect the continent. Girdling the continent was already in the plan of evangelizing Africa. From Cairo to the Cape the concept of a line of missions was gradually evolved by Henry Venn and David Livingstone. The lateral line of bisecting was Krapf's—single-handed or single-headed. Its application, on the geographical basis Krapf conceived, was not found to be the providential way, but the suggestion of a great line of cleavage through this gigantic heathenism was as masterful as that which led to Sherman's march to the sea. It was statecraft or military strategy of the highest order.

By the leadings of divine Providence this conception of Krapf has now almost become a reality—not from Mombasa to the Gaboon, nevertheless, from "salt sea to salt sea." The section map of Africa from longitude ten degrees east to forty degrees, and from three degrees north latitude to seven south latitude—that is, of South Central Africa for ten degrees of latitude and thirty degrees of longitude—exhibits a continuous waterway from Mombasa, where Krapf had his vision, to the mouth of the Congo on the Atlantic coast. What would not Krapf have given for such a map! A hundred years ago the ablest geographers said that Africa was "penetrated by no inland seas, nor overspread with lakes, like those of North America, nor having in common with other continents rivers running from the center to the extremities." Fifty years ago a president of the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain said, "All beyond the coast of Central and Southern Africa is still a blank in our maps." But if Krapf had had the present map, his fancy of a chain of missions across Africa would not seem so extremely bold.

But what have we on this map that casts light on Krapf's apocalpytic vision of a "chain" of missions from Mombasa to the Atlantic? The chain lacks only the filling of two small gaps to enable one to go from Mombasa to the Atlantic and find quarters at a continuous line of mission stations! The American and English Baptists have such stations from the mouth of the Congo to the primeval forests. These touch the Congo Balolo Mission, forming thus an "effective chain" across precisely one half of the continent. A distance of two hundred and fifty miles intervenes—not wholly without missionary operations, but without a mission station—and then we come to the great Scotch and English missions of the lake system and thus to the sea at Mombasa!

There will be no yielding of Krapf's concept till one can travel across the continent on foot and find shelter each night in the habitation of native Christians. It will take time to organize the results of this great missionary cleavage, and we may have to "bequeath," as Krapf did his idea, to those coming after us the filling in of this outline, but it broadens the mind and stimulates the soul to take in these large views of evangelization. It is meat to feed on by which one grows strong.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Erich Haupt. In a commentary on the epistles of the imprisonment—*Kolosser-Philemon-Epheser-Philipper-brief, kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament* (Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, and Philippians, in the Critical-Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament)—Haupt defends the Pauline authorship of those letters, and claims Cæsarea to have been the place of their composition. He has no doubt as to the Pauline authorship of Philemon and Philippians, though he finds it somewhat more difficult to assure himself—which he finally does—that Paul wrote Colossians and Ephesians. The genuineness of these two he tests in three ways: First, by a comparison of the form and contents of their doctrines with those of the acknowledged Pauline letters. In this respect he finds no special difficulty in ascribing them to Paul. Second, by a comparison of the style of these with that of the acknowledged Pauline letters, which he regards as decidedly diverse. Third, by a comparison of Colossians with Ephesians. He thinks that the literary style of Ephesians is so different from the genuine Paulines that its Pauline authorship can be defended only if we are able to account for the new psychological condition which must be attributed to Paul, if we are to suppose he wrote the letter. The first element in Haupt's argument is that the prison letters were written during Paul's imprisonment in Cæsarea. According to him, it was natural to a man of Paul's active intellect to employ his time—probably two or three years—of enforced inactivity and relatively meager intercourse with his congregations while at Cæsarea in thinking through the content of the Gospel and deepening his conception of it. He thinks it natural under such circumstances to suppose that all the earlier and peculiar positions emphasized by Paul—such as the relation of law and Gospel, faith and works—should appear less important, while his evident *penchant* for the construction of a sort of philosophy of history with the person of Christ as its middle point should come to the front. There can be no doubt that the same man's thinking will be materially modified by his situation and by the demands made upon his thought. If one is plunged into active life, where the needs of the hour must be met, he will be likely to exercise his mind in a common-sense way, and for the purpose of adapting his thinking to the situation. In other words, both the form and the content of the thought of a practical man will be largely determined by the exigencies of the hour. On the other hand, when one is bent upon thinking and has no concrete problems to call forth thought, he will be much more likely to indulge in speculations springing from the

fundamental beliefs of the soul, and the results will probably be quite unlike those of the same individual's more practical life. Hence Haupt feels the necessity of placing these letters during the Cæsarean imprisonment, if they are to be ascribed to Paul. Some critics see insuperable difficulties in the way of Haupt's hypothesis. To this writer these difficulties do not exist. Still, Haupt's hypothesis is but an hypothesis.

Erik Stave. His work entitled *Ueber den Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judenthum* (On the Influence of Parseeism on Judaism), Leipzig, Horrassowitz, 1898, is probably destined to lead the way for investigation relative to the origin of later Judaism for some time to come, though we doubt whether his conclusions will be sustained. In order to prove the alleged influence he first calls attention to the contact of the Jews in Babylon, during and after the exile, with the Parsee religion, and to the friendly relations which subsisted for several centuries between the Parsees and the Jews. In addition to this, he claims that during the same period the Jews learned to think more kindly and more justly of foreign peoples, and that while one portion of the Jews became more narrow, others give evidence of a decided widening of their horizon. Thus he prepares the way for the ready acceptance of whatever evidence there may be of Parsee influence upon Judaism. He first compares Ahura-Mazda with Jahweh, and while he finds decided differences, yet he discovers that the former is more like the latter than is any other foreign god. But it is chiefly in reference to eschatology that Stave thinks the dependence of Judaism on Parseeism is to be seen. He shows that in the Gathas—that is, in the oldest portion of the Avesta—there is found a faith in the general resurrection from the dead, in the reward of the good and the punishment of the wicked, and in a renewal of the earth after a definite term of years. He thinks that the doctrine of the resurrection of the pious to a reward, and of the wicked to retribution, might have been the product of the Jewish principles, but that such could not have been the case with the apocalyptic and historical-philosophical opinions of the Jews. The Jewish apocalyptic is two-sided: on the one side, the hope of the establishment of the kingdom, the restoration of the splendor of Jerusalem, peace and earthly happiness, and an earthly king; on the other line of ideas it contrasted this world with that to come, resurrection, judgment, heaven, and hell. This second circle of ideas, which does not well fit primitive Judaism, was complete in Parseeism at the time when the two religions were in such close contact, and before they made their appearance in Jewish literature. So that, while some of these ideas might have sprung from Judaism, it is, Stave thinks, practically certain that they were introduced into Judaism from without, that is, from Parseeism. In the latest portions of his book Stave compares Jewish and Parsee angelology and demonology, and concludes that here also the Jews were influ-

enced by Parsee ideas. We are not of those who object to the theory of outside influences in the development of the Jewish religion. God may have given other nations some ideas earlier than he gave them to the Jews, and in order that the Jews might at length receive them, modified by the divine Spirit. But the question is one of fact; and it appears that the Jews in Palestine, before and after the exile, were too determined to keep themselves free from contamination to allow such influence as Stave supposes.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

La morale chrétienne (Christian Ethics). By A. Gretillat. Neuchâtel, Attinger Frères, 1898. The two volumes which constitute this work were preceded by two on propædeutics and two on dogmatics, the six volumes together forming a complete theological system. As Professor Gretillat died in 1894, the work now under consideration was published, as he left it in manuscript, by some of his friends. In the first part of the treatise the author considers the teleological question of the chief end of man. He begins by seeking to answer the question as to how a fundamental moral principle can be discovered. One by one he takes up and rejects the nonreligious foundations of morality, as those also which have no genuinely religious constitution, and reaches the conclusion that the normative principle of all human activity is the glory of God, for which end God brought man into being. Man can best glorify God by loving him, and in Christianity man loves God in Christ. In this part also the author distinguishes the moral law from the law of nature, and from human law, and treats of the various relations which man sustains to the moral law. He concludes that there can be no real conflict of duties. In the second part he treats of anthropology, or man as a moral agent. Man is shown to be in the image of God, a distinction being made between the ontological image of personality and the moral image in conscience. Conscience is primarily an inborn recognition of the fact that there is moral right and moral wrong. In this sense the conscience is infallible; but the moral judgment as to whether a given act is right or wrong is fallible. Throughout his discussion of the original nature of man, the fall, and the effects of the fall, the author is essentially conservative, and, we think, rightly so. In the third part, or the ethology of the subject, he deals with faith as the primal duty of man, of regeneration and sanctification, and of the duties growing out of the relation of love to God and man involved in Christian ethics. This part, which is the main part of ethical inquiry, is relatively too meager. We note also that the ethical relations include the individual's duties toward himself and toward his neighbors, but not toward God. This is, indeed, the ordinary conception, man's relation to God being generally regarded as religious rather than ethical. But, as a matter of fact, God cannot be thus excluded from the sphere of man's ethical relationships. All sentient being, at least,

demands of man ethical recognition. God, as personal, cannot be ignored without injury to the conscience, any more than any human being can be so ignored. This is true, notwithstanding we can bring to God nothing that he needs. But particularly should any ethical system which makes it the chief end of man to glorify God consider it not only sin but immorality not to seek his glory. Besides, our love or lack of love to God, when God is known, is a sure mark of our real ethical state.

Sozialistische Irrlehren von der Entstehung des Christenthumes und ihre Widerlegung (Socialistic Errors Regarding the Origin of Christianity, and Their Correction). By Hermann Köhler. Leipzig, Heinrichs, 1899. The more radical socialists of America are mere echoes of those in Germany. Because they are less independent in their thinking, there is the less hope of reaching them by carefully prepared arguments. Nevertheless, neither in Germany nor in this country has there been sufficient of that spirit which says, "Come now, and let us reason together." If there were some way of getting at the thinking faculties of those socialists who reject Christianity—if there was a possibility of getting them to look at the facts—there would be hope of winning them back to the religion of Jesus. Köhler has written a somewhat controversial work, though in a kindly spirit, in order to exhibit the errors which German socialists cherish with reference to Christianity, and he has done it well. If the socialists would read it with open minds, they would at least be much shaken in their opposition to our holy religion. But, even though few of them will read his book at all, and still fewer in the spirit of searchers for truth, yet Köhler's labor will not be in vain; for his book will be read by some laymen, and by many preachers who will convey its substance to the laity, and thus the erroneous teachings in question will be prevented from spreading as far as they otherwise might. Patiently the author takes up the writings of antichristian socialists, treating them with all due respect, notwithstanding they are the product of ignorance, superficiality, unwillingness to understand, and moral antithesis to the claims of God. While this class of socialists attempt to trace much of that which is peculiar in Christianity to the philosophy of the early decades of our era, or to the older religious systems, Köhler shows that the whole spirit and genius of Christianity differ materially from that of the early philosophy, Essenism, Buddhism, and any and every other system upon which Christianity is supposed by many to depend. Thus he shows the originality of Christianity, which depends not upon outside sources for its contents, but upon the unique personality of its founder, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. With him we have Christianity; without him we have it not, no matter what else we have. Another excellent trait of this book is its clear distinction between Christianity and the Church. We have no disposition to speak evil of the Church. It has done

and is doing very much to bless the world; but it is nevertheless a fact that it has often misrepresented, rather than represented, Christianity, because it has so often failed to embody the spirit of Jesus in its dealings with mankind. The unbeliever who will fix his thought upon Jesus will be won to the religion he proclaimed to the world.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

A Proposed Ultramontane Theological Faculty for Strasburg. The Ultramontanists of the German centrist party are exceedingly anxious to have such a faculty. The German government is not averse thereto, because of the feeling that on the whole it would contribute to the Germanization of Alsace and Lorraine. But many German Protestants see in the movement no hope of such a result, because the proposed faculty would have to be nominated by the bishop, and he is too much in sympathy with Roman Catholicism to care for the Germanization of the French provinces. On the other hand, while they recognize that they have a right, owing to their superior numbers, the Roman Catholic Alsatians do not generally wish for such a faculty, for the following reasons: 1. Because they fear the freedom in teaching which a university professor would necessarily exercise; 2. Because the faculties of the seminaries where their priests are now trained oppose the plan. The peculiarity of the situation is that the government and the Ultramontanists are on one side, and Rome and the Alsace-Lothringians on the other, the former favoring, the latter opposing, the establishment of a Roman Catholic faculty. Cautious and farseeing is Rome.

The Significance of Creed Signing among the Germans. The general tendency is to assert that the clergy should be compelled to assent to the doctrinal standards, but not in such a sense as that everything they say is binding upon them. For it is claimed that the purpose of the creed is to present the truth of Scripture without mixture, and that if in any particular the creed is found to go beyond or to fall short or to be out of harmony with the Scripture, the clergy must not be hindered from being scriptural. Ordination vows, then, mean that he who takes them pledges himself to accept Jesus Christ as the revelation of the living God; to strive ever to sink deeper into the depths of the Gospel, both in experience and life; and to avoid all that could interfere with the peace of the Church and the spiritual welfare of the individual. We regard this last point as one of special importance. The truth must be sought out, but it need not be spoken out on all occasions. The example of the great Teacher—who did not declare to his disciples all he knew, but left them to learn gradually from the Holy Spirit, who was to be ever present with the Church—should be followed more exactly, both in spirit and in letter, than it generally is by those who think they have discovered new truth.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THAT fame is evanescent in the department of literature is the burden of Justin McCarthy's article on "Disappearing Authors," in the *North American* (New York) for March. His subject, he writes, "has to do with the authors against whom there is no visible reaction"—as in certain previous instances he has cited—"who are not disparaged or underrated by any school of critics, or indeed by criticism of any kind, but who were undoubtedly very popular at one time, and whose popularity is now unmistakably fading." While they do not belong to any particular school of literature, have "no set mannerisms or fads," and are altogether original, yet their disappearance seems evident. First in the list the author puts Charles Kingsley, whose novels have lost their interest to most readers. Nor does Anthony Trollope fare better. "For several years before his death Trollope's prices were steadily falling off. Now one seldom hears him talked of; one hardly ever hears a citation from him in a newspaper or a magazine." Charles Reade, "that strenuous, masculine, masterful novelist," also falls into the same list, suggests Mr. McCarthy; and also Charles Lever, whose red-covered monthly installments "used to be looked for with almost as keen an interest as the yellow covers of Thackeray or even the green covers of Dickens." As for Shirley Brooks, he has altogether disappeared. "I wonder how many of my readers could tell me," the author continues, "without consulting a biographical dictionary, who was Mrs. Marsh. Yet Mrs. Marsh was a very popular novelist within my own recollection, and there is a story of hers called *The Admiral's Daughter* which is curiously bold, original, and successful in its drawing of character, and rises at its close to a tragic power and pathos which might seem to assure, as well as deserve, an abiding fame." Others, too, are passing. "We know that the modern reader, as we find him in ordinary life, never thinks of reading Fielding, or perhaps even Walter Scott; that he has probably never heard of *Anastasius;* that he has never troubled himself even with an attempt to read Jane Austen's novels, and probably never saw a copy of Mrs. Inchbald's *Simple Story.*" And the same fact holds, says Mr. McCarthy, of writers in other departments of literature, as well as novelists. "Everybody must have observed, or at any rate may have observed, that there are authors of histories, authors of essays, authors of plays, authors of scientific books, who were very popular some time ago, and are now beginning to fade out of the world's notice without giving any indication that they are likely by any reaction of enthusiasm in the public mind to be exalted into the Elysian fields of the classics." And how is a disappearing author, if aware that he has outlived his popularity, to accept the fact? "I

should think," the author answers, "Anthony Trollope would have taken it composedly enough, and that Charles Reade, if he could have been convinced by any power of evidence that such a fate was awaiting him, would have stormed against the destinies and anathematized the upcoming generation which was to permit of his disappearance. There are two consoling reflections for those who are disposed, as I am, to muse in melancholy fashion over the disappearing author. The first is that, in most cases, the author thus doomed may not have the least suspicion that he is disappearing; and the second is that, in the rare cases where he has such a suspicion, he may get it firmly into his mind that he is only disappearing from mortal sight to become a demigod, that he is only vanishing from the classes to become a classic." Happy is the author who in this last assurance consents to disappear!

Of the late James Martineau, "teacher and father," A. W. Jackson writes an appreciative sketch in the *New World* (Boston) for March. F. C. Porter, of Yale Divinity School, follows with an article on "The Ideals of Seminaries and the Needs of the Churches." The theological seminary, he holds, "should teach principles, not practice. It will become more practical just in proportion as it becomes more truly scientific. It should not permit, in subject-matter or in method, any mere survival of an unhistorical, unspiritual conception of Christianity. But it should not substitute any other ideal whatsoever for the ideal of special, scientific, professional equipment." The third article, by J. W. Chadwick, is entitled "John Donne, Poet and Preacher," and is an appreciative biographical review of the former dean of St. Paul's. "From Paul to John," by J. Warschauer, of Bristol, England, is an attempt, first, to restate Paul's chief contribution to theology, and, secondly, "to indicate a certain transition, or rather transformation, in the domain of theological thought which is now apparently in process of being accomplished, and whose main characteristic is a thorough reaction against Paulinism." In the next article G. S. Lee discusses "The Sex-Conscious School in Fiction," and affirms that this consciousness, which apparently possesses the imagination of current writers, "is not only a public affront in the moral sense, nor merely a kind of self-mutilation in the artistic sense," but that as to the artists themselves, "it is a poor, pitiful spider's astronomy they are doing their thinking in, spun out of dreams, provincial and unintellectual and unphilosophic to the last degree." The three concluding articles in the present issue of this quarterly are "The Decline of the Stars," by H. S. Nash, showing that they "have lost forever their power to master the feeling of mankind;" a biographical notice of "William Morris, Craftsman and Socialist," by Francis Tiffany; and "The Date of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians," by Emilie Grace Briggs, in which the writer concludes by showing the advantages which follow from the acceptance of an early date for the apostolic letter.

Of the trust Sidney Sherwood writes in commendation, in the *Yale Review* (New Haven) for February. His conclusion is in the following words: "The enlargement of the market makes a higher type of organization a necessity. The trust is the American solution of this problem. Its effectiveness is already becoming recognized abroad—recognized not only by observers, but also by imitators. The wider the market, the more economies can be effected by organization, a principle already grasped by Adam Smith. It is upon this historic superiority in the capacity for organization that the future economic supremacy of America must probably rest. Protection is not the cause of trusts; it is at the most only an incidental aid to their early formation. Their destruction would probably be the deathblow to our hopes for industrial leadership in the international struggle for future mastery. They are the most effective agencies yet devised for preventing the wastes of competitive production. What is needed is an enlightened public appreciation of the possibilities for good which they offer and the limitation of their possibilities for evil through calm and wise governmental regulation." The argument, however, is not final.

The table of contents in the *Methodist Review* of the Church South (Nashville, Tenn.) for March-April has: 1. "The Twentieth Century Movement in Methodism," by Bishop C. B. Galloway, D.D., LL.D.; 2. "The Principal Writings of Dr. A. B. Bruce," by O. E. Brown, D.D.; 3. "St. Paul and Seneca," by Professor Andrew Sledd; 4. "General Nathan Bedford Forrest," by Rev. D. C. Kelley, LL.D.; 5. "The Personal Side of Dr. Baskervill," by J. W. Sewell; 6. "Dwight L. Moody: An Appreciation," by Bishop E. R. Hendrix, D.D., LL.D.; 7. "The Influence of John Ruskin," by Professor Edwin Mims. The editorial departments are, as usual, full and able.

The April number of *Harper's Magazine* has, in part: "Municipal Art," by C. H. Coffin, illustrated by L. A. Shafer; "Lord Pauncefote of Preston," by Chalmers Roberts; "A Successful Colonial Experiment," by Poultney Bigelow, illustrated by R. C. Woodville, and showing the development of Hong-Kong in the last half century so that it rivals New York "as one of the great ports of the world;" "The Problem of Asia. Part II," with Map, by Captain A. T. Mahan; "Playthings of Kings," with Illustrations from Engravings, Photographs, and Prints, by Katharine De Forest; "Some Unsolved Scientific Problems," by Dr. H. S. Williams; "Captain John Adams, Missing. An Incident of the Boer War," by Dr. C. W. Doyle; and "Results of Psychical Research," by Professor J. H. Hyslop. "Being reduced," the latter says, "to a choice between an omniscient telepathy and communication with discarnate spirits, I simply prefer the latter hypothesis as the more rational of the two in our present state of knowledge regarding supernormal phenomena."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Rise of the New Testament. By DAVID SAVILLE MUZZEY, B.D. 12mo, pp. 146. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This brief outline attempts to give a short and readable account in English of the formation of our New Testament. The historic method of scholarship is explained so that the general reader may understand the movements which have produced the results. The author says: "For three generations scholars have worked with untiring zeal over the interpretation of the early documents of Christianity; and to-day, despite manifold differences as to the date or the genuineness of a passage here or there, as to the purpose of an Epistle, or the priority of one Gospel over another, critics are so perfectly agreed as to the historico-genetic construction of the New Testament that their points of difference are comparatively insignificant." "It is now time to take down the scaffolding of theological professionalism from the structure of the early Church, and let the interested public see the results of so much brick-dust and tumbling mortar. . . . A beginning of the process of popularization of knowledge has been made in pamphlets and magazine articles, and still more is promised in the new series of handbooks of the New Testament edited by Professor Shailer Matthews." (*History of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, by Marvin R. Vincent; *History of New Testament Times in Palestine*, by Shailer Matthews; *History of the Higher Criticism of the New Testament*, by Henry S. Nash; and *Introduction to the Books of the New Testament*, by B. W. Bacon.) This book is neither apologetic nor polemic, but purely expository; written not for scholars but for popular information. "Mooted points of literary and historical criticism are put to one side, and only the common tenets of all the schools are brought into emphasis." The chapters are entitled, "The Canon of the New Testament," "The Bible of Jesus and the Apostles," "The Lord's Words," "The Apostles' Writings," "A New Testament," "The New Testament," "The New Testament and the Word of God." The first chapter says: "Our New Testament did not drop from heaven, like Mohammed's Korân in the legend, nor is it a book which appeared by an arbitrary fiat of the Catholic Church some sixteen hundred years ago, as an ultra school of Dutch critics would have us believe. It is not merely *a Scripture*, a complete book of equal and divine worth in all its parts, as a timorous or belligerent orthodoxy must maintain, nor is it merely *Scriptures*, a bundle of books without interrelation, and joined together quite artificially by the Church in a hasty movement of anxiety for its own existence. Such

theories as these are mechanical and *a priori;* they savor of a violation of historical truth which is only too common among those critics who have a pet theory to defend. They are, in a word, a part of the critical paraphernalia of the age of Rationalism, rather than the outcome of that diligent, dispassionate historical method which is the feature of the new age of Criticism. It is by an appeal to history, then, that we must determine the genesis of the authority of the New Testament. In fact, the history of the Canon of the New Testament, more than any other branch of Biblical study, is bound up with the history of the Church. The New Testament was not the product of immediate arbitrary legislation. It was of slow growth, and the stages of its growth from a mere interchange of loving words of exhortation to a binding rule of faith are as clearly marked as the steps in the development of the Church from mere companies of like-minded believers, each armed with the resistless authority of the Holy Ghost, to the jealously conservative and hidebound institution whose stability may have suggested to the Emperor Diocletian the model for the reorganization of the mighty Roman Empire. In this development from the authority of brotherly exhortation to the authority of despotic injunction the New Testament, like every other organism, was subject to the necessary conditions of all growth—conditions which defy hasty and superficial definition. A table is defined in a few words: quality, measurements, ornaments, etc.; but who will exhaust the description of the oak from which the table is made? How all the beginnings of organic life are wrapped about with the veil of mystery! How at almost every stage of growth the scientific observer is confronted with all sorts of freaks! Irregularity seems to be the prime condition of growth, especially of fruitful growth. Let us not be dismayed then to find inconsistencies in the history of the Canon of the New Testament. Let us remember that it was the product of a great creative age, and that consistency is the last concern of creation. . . . At no other point does the leaven of Pharisaism threaten so subtly and so successfully to enter the Church as in the doctrine of Scripture. For so long as the Bible is accepted without being studied, quoted without being understood, venerated without being estimated, it will be an idol only, or, words for the familiarity, a thing to conjure with or an oracle to seek for responses. An appreciation, then, of the gradual growth in content and authority of the New Testament writings is fundamental to the understanding of both their content and their authority." The third chapter begins thus: "The hammerstrokes on Golgotha awoke no echo in the marbles of the Roman Forum, and the 'quaking earth' did not roll the blue waves of the Neapolitan Gulf higher on the cliffs of Capri, where Tiberius's days were drawing to a close. The Nazarene's death on the cross of Calvary sent less tremor through the great body of the Roman Empire than did a failing crop in Dalmatia, a burning palace in Sicily, or a ship-destroying tide on the

coast of Britain. And yet the name of Him who hung upon that cross was to outlast the dynasty of Julius and the crumbling Forum itself; was to spread beyond the provinces, beyond the Alps and the rough forests of Germany, beyond the outpost encampments of Caledonia and the Pillars of Hercules; was to endure the wisdom of all Rome's borrowed philosophies, Stoic, Epicurean, and Skeptic, the cults of Egypt and the mysteries of Mithras; was, to use the words of Renan, 'so to become the corner stone of humanity that to wrest that name from the world would be to shake it to its foundations.'" Of the generation which followed immediately after the death of Jesus, the author says that it was not concerned with writing Him in books. "The words which He had spoken were spirit and life. The divine grace of enthusiasm was upon His disciples. It was the classic age of the new Gospel, warm with the fusion of a mighty fire of faith, and big with issues which a later and more reflective age should chronicle. It was the 'century of salvation.'" Of Luther's mighty work the Epilogue says: "Martin Luther struck the shackles of a millennium from the religion of Europe. He freed ethics from the Jesuitical immorality of the 'more binding' and the 'less binding,' and sent the conscience not to Rome's catalogues, but to Christ's Gospel, for its justification or its condemnation. He freed worship from the idolatry of Virgin and saints, of rosaries and relics, of pilgrimages and penances, of vows and vigils, and bade the Christian bow only before the Lord of Lords—and then his heart and not his knees. He freed the body from fasts and mortifications, and, himself a monk, marrying a nun, he cut to the roots that baneful paganism which proscribed in theory and violated in practice the most sacred relationship of human life. He freed the mind from the fruitless speculations of an effete philosophy concerning God's existence and God's attributes, and in place of the God of 'Pope, Jew, and Turk' he proclaimed the God of Jesus Christ, the Father of His children. He freed the soul from a fearful mysticism which hovered between ecstasy and gloom, and proclaimed for it a finished salvation and an unshakable assurance in Christ's mercy. He freed the conscience from masses and indulgences, from the terror of monks and the fables of Purgatory, declaring that penance was a broken heart and the sacrifices of God a contrite spirit. In a word, he freed religion from the authority of men and established the liberty of the authority of God in Christ."

Christ Came Again. The Parousia of Christ a Past Event. The Kingdom of Christ a Present Fact. With a Consistent Eschatology. By WILLIAM S. URMY, D.D. 12mo, pp. 394. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The theory advocated by Dr. Urmy in this volume has at least the charm of relative novelty. "The doctrine, therefore, which we present," he writes, "is that the second advent of our Lord is a past occurrence; that his *parousia* took place about the time of the de-

struction of Jerusalem; and that we are therefore in a very different relation to this event from that in which the primitive Christians were, and cannot regard it in the same manner that they did." The arguments which prove this striking claim the author finds in "the words of Christ and his apostles," in "the great eschatological discourse of our Lord," in "the Apocalypse," in "necessity," and in "the dispensation of the Holy Spirit." So minute and so profuse is his study of the New Testament Scriptures that it is altogether impossible to cite more than these summaries of his arguments, contenting ourselves with the general observation that his treatment gives every indication of profound and long-continued study. Not satisfied with the announcement and vigorous defense of his own positions, Dr. Urmy in four succeeding chapters combats various objections that may be offered to his theory, and closes with certain deductions that follow the establishment of his doctrine, such as the changed attitude of the present Church toward the second coming of Christ, a "different view of all the great doctrines which cluster about the *parousia* of Christ as the great central doctrine of Christian eschatology," and marked changes in the creed, ritual, and hymnology of the Church. This brings us to Part Second of the volume, in which the author discusses from his standpoint such eschatological themes as "The Resurrection," "The Resurrection Body," "The Change of the Living," "The Rapture of the Saints," "The Judgment," "Future Destiny," "The Intermediate State," "The Millennium," and "The New Jerusalem." The changes which this system of eschatology requires, as set forth in his conclusion, are many and peculiar. He enumerates them, as follows: "A rearrangement of the books of the New Testament, if not those of the whole Bible;" the alteration of the sentence in the Creed which reads, "and from thence shall come again at the end of the world to judge the quick and the dead;" a change in the fourth Article of Religion of the Church of England and the third Article of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the incorrect statement now being, "and there sitteth until he return to judge all men at the last day;" an improvement in the ritual of various Churches for the burial of the dead; an alteration in the Form for the Dedication of a Church; "numerous changes in the hymnology now current in the Churches" —all allusions to a future coming of Christ, all references to a final judgment in the future, and all expressions teaching that the material body shall be raised at the sounding of the seventh trumpet being eliminated; and alterations in the notes on Sunday school lessons, "so that the true teaching of the Scriptures may be imparted in our thousands of Sunday schools." From this brief outline of Dr. Urmy's book it will be seen that his variance with the current views upon eschatology is most radical. We might wish that he had dwelt in more specific and graphic description than seems evident to the ordinary observer upon the details of that great *parousia* which, he holds, took place about 70 A. D. If the event were proven, it would be clear that his many deductions logically

follow. The book, however, will possibly impress many as the erection of an extensive superstructure upon an insufficient foundation stone, which a wise master-builder would not choose in his construction. The edifice can hardly stand the test that must come from the winds and storms of scholarly criticism.

The Fundamental Ideas of Christianity. By JOHN CAIRD, D.D., LL.D. Late Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow. With a Memoir by EDWARD CAIRD, D.C.L., LL.D., Master of Balliol. 2 vols. crown 8vo, pp. 232, 597. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $3.50.

These are the Gifford Lectures at the University of Glasgow for 1892-3 and 1895-6. There are eight lectures in the first volume and thirteen in the second. The interesting memoir of one distinguished brother by the other is fascinatingly written. It truly says that John Caird "was completely emancipated from that fear of reason which seems to hang so often like a weight upon the most spiritually-minded of the orthodox clergy. He was prepared to sacrifice everything that would not stand the test of criticism; but he had an assurance deeper than could be felt by anyone who had not gone through a similar experience, that such criticism would be fatal only to the 'wood, hay, and stubble' that had been built by unskilled hands upon the foundation of Christ, and not to the stones of the temple, still less to the foundation itself." Commenting on his lectures, he said: "I shall be satisfied if my work leads some few who are in doubt on the highest matters to see that Christianity and Christian ideas are not contrary to reason, but rather in deepest accordance with both the intellectual and moral needs of man." He broke down the artificial distinctions made between the religious and the secular and showed the organic unity of the whole life. His first sermon before Queen Victoria at Balmoral was on "Religion in Common Life." His theological teachings are in the fullest light of modern scholarship, yet hold fast to all that the Christian Church has universally regarded as vital. The Caird brothers have been the champions of idealism and have had no little share in making that the dominant philosophy in England, Scotland, and America. The idealistic philosophy is herein set forth in its relaton to the fundamental ideas of Christianity. The evidence for immortality which seemed to John Caird to be of greatest value was that given by the spiritual view of the nature of reality, and that derived from the goodness which must belong to God, who is a Spirit, and who is not the God of the dead, but of the living. Some, no doubt, will question whether the author's form of idealism is adequate to the place he gives it in his argument; but all will agree that a magic style is fluent in his pages. He casts the world into the life of God and makes it a means by which he realizes himself. These lectures treat in order of "Natural and Revealed Religion;" "Faith and Reason;" "The Christian Idea of God;" "The Relation of God to the World" accord-

ing to the pantheistic, the deistic, and the Christian view; "The Origin and Nature of Evil" according to the Augustinian theory, the theory of negation or privation, the theory of the predominance of sense over spirit, and the theory of free will; "The Possibility of Moral Restoration;" "The Idea of the Incarnation" with the theories that exclude or modify the divine element in the nature of Christ, and those that exclude or modify the human element in His nature; "The Idea of the Atonement" with the theory of Anselm, the substitutionary theory, and an enumeration of the elements of a true theory; "The Kingdom of the Spirit;" and "The Future Life." These two volumes are full of strong, lucid, and stimulating thought on great themes.

The Moral Order of the World. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow. Crown 8vo, pp. 431. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.

This book contains the second series of Gifford Lectures given by Professor Bruce, the first series a year previous being *The Providential Order of the World.* His thought is that the Providential Order implies a God who provides, while a moral order may be conceived of as impersonal and be accepted in religions distinctly atheistic, as in Buddhism. This volume discusses the different views taken of the moral order of the world by ancient and by modern thought. Its publication was delayed by the author's illness, the last energy of his life being spent in preparing it for the press. Dying, he has left us a series of noble works, none of them more useful than *The Humiliation of Christ,* which contains the ablest modern exposition of the doctrine of the Kenosis. The book before us is a great argument for Christian theism, showing the utter failure of the nontheistic schemes of moral order to be due to the absence from them of a moral governor. It presents, first, the Buddhistic and Zoroastrian schemes; then the Greeks and the Roman Stoics; then the Christian, beginning with the Hebrew prophets and passing to the Book of Job; then Christ's Teaching Concerning Divine Providence, and on through the course of theological development since Christ. The exposition of the Book of Job goes deep into its vital thought. The two studies of Modern Dualism, in its scientific, philosophical, religious, and social aspects, are of much importance. The lecture which has most literary interest and the rarest charm is that on Modern Optimism as illustrated in the poetry of Robert Browning, which is an uncanonical gospel of glad tidings—a robust affirmation of high and joyous faith in a good God and in the soul and its Saviour. Christendom cannot help rejoicing that one of Scotland's greatest theologians has left so large and valuable a legacy in his books, through which, being dead, he yet speaketh. Few scholars or theologians of the nineteenth century have builded so lofty and solid a monument for themselves.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Letters of Sidney Lanier. Selections from his Correspondence, 1866-1881. Crown 8vo, pp. 245. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.

These selections, like those in the previous volumes, *Music and Poetry* and *Retrospects and Prospects*, are made and edited by Mrs. Sidney Lanier and her son, Henry Wysham Lanier. Colonel T. W. Higginson has said that Lanier's work will long live as that of the Sir Galahad among our American poets. These letters show that the man was synonymous with the poet, and that his life was, in Milton's phrase, "a true poem." A purer, sweeter, or more exquisite nature, a nature fine as silk, has not appeared in our literature. He is ever noble and gentle, heroic and aspiring. It is well that his brief, brave, beautiful, struggling life left so much of himself available for enriching the shelves of our libraries. The letters are in four classes: those written to his valued friend, Mr. Gibson Peacock, editor of the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin;* those which give the poet's musical impressions; those which passed between Lanier and Bayard Taylor; and those written to Paul Hamilton Hayne. They let us see his relations with the little circle of gifted friends who loved and aided him. Mr. William R. Thayer says in his Introduction: "I know not where to look for a series of letters which, in so small a bulk, relate so humanly and beautifully the story of so precious a life." Of April in Georgia we have a delicious glimpse in a letter in 1875: "Such a three days' *dolce far niente* as I'm having! With plenty of love and no end of trees and vines, what more could a work-battered man desire, in this divine atmosphere which seems like a great sigh of pleasure from some immense Lotos in the vague South? . . . I am convinced that God meant this land for people to rest in—not to work in. If life *could* be an idyl, then this were the place of places for it; but being, as it is, the hottest of all battles, a man might as well expect to plan a campaign in a dream as to make anything like his best fight here." The delirious ecstasy of this born musician when he first came into the privileges of our great Northern cities is a rapturous spectacle. The day after hearing Theodore Thomas's orchestra render Wagner's music he wrote: "Flutes and Horns and Violins—celestial sighs and breaths slow-drawn, penetrated with that heavenly woe which the deep heart knoweth when it findeth not room in the world for its too-great love, and is worn with fasting for the Beloved: fine Purity, fiercely attacked by palpitating fascinations, and bracing herself and struggling and fighting therewith, till what is maidenly in a man is become all grimy and sweat-beaded like a warrior: dear Love, shot by some small arrow and in pain with the wound thereof: divine lamentations, far-off blowings of great winds, flutterings of tree and flower leaves and airs troubled with wing-beats of birds or spirits: floatings hither and thither of strange incense and odors and essences: warm floods of sunlight, cool gleams of moonlight,

faint enchantments of twilight: delirious dances, noble marches, processional chants, hymns of joy and of grief:—Ah, midst of all these lived I last night, in the first chair next to Theodore Thomas's orchestra." When the orchestra, in which Lanier played the flute, was engaged by St. Paul's, a highly ritualistic church in Baltimore, to help make the Christmas music grand, he was sorely disgusted with the behavior of some German musicians of his orchestra, who watched the communion service with frivolous and heathenish curiosity, scowled comically, joked, and sat ogling each other and snickering behind the columns without a sign of interest or reverence: and Lanier said to himself, "Dash these fellows, they are utterly given over to heathenism, prejudice, and beer—they ought to be annihilated; if they *do* get control of the age, life will be a mere barbaric grab of the senses at whatever there is of sensual good in the world." Of a symphony of Gade's, Lanier writes: "It is lovely, not with the passionate loveliness that bringeth pain, but with the dainty yet strong loveliness of a mountain, all covered with flowers, and many-colored rocks, and green leaves, and sparkling springs." Of a Sunday concert to which he gave his services he says: "'Tis a charity concert, and are we not allowed to lift the poor out of the ditch on Sunday?" After reading the *Life of Robert Schumann* he wrote: "Schumann's sympathies were not *big* enough, he did not go through the awful struggle of genius, and lash and storm and beat about until his soul was grown large enough to embrace the whole of life and the All of things, that is, large enough to appreciate the magnificent designs of God, and tall enough to stand in the trough of the awful cross-waves of circumstance and look over their heights along the whole sea of God's manifold acts, and deep enough to admit the peace that passeth understanding. This is, indeed, the fault of all German culture, and the weakness of all German genius. I cannot find that Schumann's life was great, as a whole: I cannot see him caring for his land, for the poor, for religion, for humanity; he was always a restless soul; and the ceaseless war of incompleteness killed him whom a broader Love might have kept alive as a glorious artist to this day." To his dear friend, Bayard Taylor, Lanier wrote affectionately: "I hope God will let you into Heaven, with no limitations as to walking on the grass or picking the flowers till you've got all you want." Taylor writes Lanier: "I am ground to the dust with work and worry. I live from day to day on the verge of physical prostration. Nothing saves me but eight to ten hours of death-like sleep, every night." Lanier slowly rallying from hemorrhages at Tampa, Florida, amid "green leaves, gold oranges, the glitter of great and tranquil waters, the liberal friendship of the sun, and the heavenly conversation of robins and mocking birds and larks," writes: "I shall soon be strong enough to work again. In truth, I 'bubble song' continually during these divine days, and it is as hard to keep me from the pen as a toper

from his tipple." Writing to the poet Hayne, he says: "Have you seen Browning's *The Ring and the Book*? . . . A hitch and a sharp crook in almost every sentence bring you up with a shock. But what a shock it is! Did you ever see a picture of a lasso, in the act of being flung? In a thousand coils and turns inextricably crooked and involved and whirled, yet, if you mark the noose at the end, you see that it is directly in front of the bison's head and is bound to catch him. That is the way Robert Browning catches you. The first sixty or seventy pages of *The Ring and the Book* are altogether the most doleful reading, in point either of idea or of music, in the English language: and yet the monologue of Guiseppe Caponsacchi, that of Pompilia Comparini, and the two of Guido Franceschini, are unapproachable, in their kind, by any living or dead poet, *me judice*. Here Browning's jerkiness comes in with inevitable effect. You get lightning-glimpses—and, as one naturally expects from lightning, zigzag glimpses—into the intense passion of their souls. It is entirely wonderful and without precedent." That the born musician, Lanier, holds strange heresy concerning Tennyson appears in the following judgment: "Whatever turn I have for art is purely musical; poetry being with me a mere tangent into which I shoot sometimes. . . . William Morris lives too closely within hearing of Tennyson to write unbroken music; for Tennyson (let me not blaspheme against the gods!) is not a musical, though in other respects (particularly in that of phrase-making) a very wonderful writer." This book will make the admirers of Lanier admire and love him more.

A Ten Years' War. An Account of the Battle with the Slum in New York. By JACOB A. RIIS. Crown 8vo, pp. 267. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. Price, cloth, illustrated, $1.50.

The first page bears these words: "To the Faint-hearted and those of Little Faith this volume is reproachfully inscribed by the author." This man has earned the right to be heard; from long experience and study he has wisdom to impart. That he has known from boyhood the infernal region whose devils he devotes his manhood to fighting is indicated by his own words: "Twenty-nine years have passed since I slept in a police-station lodging house, a lonely lad, and was robbed, beaten, and thrown out for protesting; and when the vagrant cur that had joined its homelessness to mine, and had sat all night at the door waiting for me to come out—it had been clubbed away the night before—snarled and showed its teeth at the doorman, raging and impotent I saw it beaten to death on the steps." Those police-station lodging houses, foul dens of vice and nests of crime, were abolished by Theodore Roosevelt when he was Police Commissioner. This is no doctrinaire book; it deals with ugly reality at close quarters in the wild beast's lair. The author is a new sort of war correspondent; he is himself a protagonist in the great fight, and tells a spirited story of battle and of victory,

undeniable and beautiful, though not yet complete. His story is fact without a trace of fiction, and the music in his pages is not "the horns of elfland faintly blowing," but millennial bugles playing at the head of the column of rescue coming through the defiles of the mountains, heard as the distant pibroch of the coming Highlanders was heard at Lucknow. He writes of "The Battle with the Slum," "The Tenement House Blight and Its Cure," "The Tenant," "The Genesis of the Gang," "Letting in the Light," "Justice for the Boy," and "Reform by Humane Touch." Mr. Riis says that this great war began in 1879, when the pulpits of New York arraigned the slum, roused the civic conscience, and alarmed the public. The worst of the tenements have been torn down. "Bottle Alley," "Bandit's Roost," "Bone Alley," "Thieves' Alley," and "Kerosene Row" are gone; "Hell's Kitchen" and "Poverty Gap" are modified into the appearance of decency. Mulberry Bend is gone, and in its place is a little park where children play on sunny grass. Some of us remember the touching story *Delic, the Bluebird of Mulberry Bend*. What the place once was Mr. Riis tells us: "In fifteen years I never knew a week to pass without a murder there, rarely a Sunday. It was the wickedest, as it was the foulest, spot in all the city. In the slum the two are interchangeable terms, for reasons that are clear to me. The old houses fairly reeked with outrage and violence. When they were torn down I counted seventeen deeds of blood in that place which I myself remembered, and those I had forgotten probably numbered seven times more. Two years have passed since it was made into a park, and scarce a knife has been drawn, or a shot fired, in all that neighborhood, where the slum used to breed robbery and murder and the gang." "To-day the Jew and the Italian are the problem of the slums. Yesterday it was the Irishman and the Bohemian. To-morrow it may be the Greek, who already undersells the Italian from his pushcart, and the Syrian, who can give Greek, Italian, and Jew points at a trade." Various forces have cooperated in the great fight. The Tenement House Commission, of which Richard Watson Gilder was the laborious and efficient chairman, did good work in investigating, reporting, framing, and passing the law which accomplished the reform. Colonel George E. Waring was one of the heroes and martyrs in the cause of Christian civilization. He made New York, for the first time in its history, a clean city. What had been regarded as an impossible task he did by the simple expedient of "putting a man instead of a voter behind every broom." Then the dirty streets were swept. The ash barrels that had befouled the sidewalks disappeared. The trucks that obstructed the children's only playground, the street, went with the dirt, despite the opposition of the truckman who had traded off his vote to Tammany in the past for stall room at the curbstone. Mr. Riis says that Colonel Waring did more for the cause of labor than all the walking delegates of the town together, by investing the de-

spised but important task of cleaning the streets with a dignity which won the admiration of a grateful city. Enthusiasm for this public benefactor broke out wherever his masterly work brought its blessing. The very children of the tenement house regions organized street-cleaning bands to help along the work, and Colonel Waring enlisted them as regular auxiliaries and made them useful. For this noble civic servant Tammany had no use; promptly dismissed him and gave his office to one of its own tools; while Colonel Waring went to Cuba to continue his magnificent services to civilization, and died of yellow fever. There are a dozen statues in the public places of New York city which might well come down from their pedestals to make room for an imperishable memorial of George E. Waring. Another name which shines with splendid luster in this *Ten Years' War* is that of Theodore Roosevelt, for whom Santiago gave no opportunity for winning laurels equal to those which covered his term of office as Police Commissioner. For once the devils of corruption, greed, vice, and crime found themselves confronted by a foe more fearless, determined, hardy, tenacious, and formidable than themselves; a man who has been a terror to evil-doers, the embodiment of conscience and of courage with a passion for the public welfare. One of the reverses given by Tammany to reform is described by the author: "Flushed with many victories, we challenged the slum to a fight to the finish, and bade it come on. It came on. On our side fought the bravest and best; the man who had been foremost in building homes, in erecting baths for the people, in directing the self-sacrificing labors of the oldest and worthiest agencies for improving the condition of the poor; with him stood other men who had given lives of patient study and effort to helping their needy fellow-men; and shoulder to shoulder with them battled the thoughtful workingman from the East Side tenement. On the opposite side the slum marshalled all its forces. Tammany hypocritically pointed to the increased tax rate and called it criminal recklessness to spend so much in schools and parks and clean streets and improved tenements. The issue was sharp and clear. The war cry of the slum was characteristic: 'To hell with reform!' We all remember the result. Politics interfered with reform and turned our victory into defeat. I shall never forget the night of that election day. I walked home through the Bowery at midnight, and saw it gorging itself, like a starved wolf, on the promise of the morrow. Drunken men and women sat in every doorway howling ribald songs and curses. Hard faces I had not seen for years showed themselves about the dives. The mob made merry after its fashion. The old days were coming back. Reform was dead and decency with it. A year later I passed that same way on the night of election. The scene was strangely changed. The street was unusually quiet for such a time. Men stood in groups about the saloons and talked in whispers, with serious faces. The name of Roosevelt was heard on every hand. The dives were run-

ning, but there was no shouting or violence. When on the morrow I met the proprietor of one of the oldest concerns on the Bowery he told me how he had been stricken in pocket as a result of the election. 'A gambler who had come on from the far West in anticipation of a wide-open town, and was ready to open a gambling hell in the Tenderloin, took his $40,000 away to Baltimore to locate his business there. Two others of his sort who had expected to invest $130,000 in New York carried their money also to the Maryland metropolis, where they would be less restricted." But by the permission and connivance of a Republican "boss" Tammany came back again, and Mr. Riis writes: "The Health Department is wrecked. The police force is now worse than before Roosevelt took hold of it, and we are back in the mud out of which we pulled ourselves with such an effort." Tammany is filling her pockets, raising assessments and taxes to an unheard-of figure, stinting the schools, and increasing the salaries of her officials with lavish hand. But the war, which has already won some victories that can never be taken away, will go on. Meanwhile, so long as the enemies of reform are in possession, the author says that the business of the friends of reform is to hold taut and take in slack right along, never letting go for a moment.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Charles Sumner. By MOORFIELD STOREY. 16mo, pp. 466. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This is the thirtieth volume in the biographies of American Statesmen edited by John T. Morse, Jr.; the set beginning with Benjamin Franklin and ending with Thaddeus Stevens, thirty-one volumes in all. One feature of this volume is a perfect index. The entire series is admirable and valuable. This is a portraiture—calm, just, and full—of the lofty character, the conscientious and courageous life, and the immortal services of the great senator of Massachusetts. Sumner's antislavery spirit was inherited. In 1820, when Charles was nine years old, his father, with far prescience, said of the slavery problem, "Our children's heads will some day be broken on a cannon ball over this question." Charles Sumner's strenuous earnestness is seen even in boyhood, and in his plan of life while studying law: "Six hours, namely, the forenoon, wholly and solely to law; afternoon to classics; evening to history, subjects collateral and assistant to law, etc. Recreation must not be found in idleness or loose reading." An early friend said, "A peculiar life and death earnestness characterized all that he did and said." At the age of twenty-six he made his first visit to Europe, and is thus described by one who met him just before he sailed: "He appeared with a right royal presence, his countenance characterized by a genuine warmth and great readiness; in a word, it was that of a highly bred, well-informed gentleman of a somewhat

older school than I was in the way of meeting; a young man, handsomely dressed, erect, easy, conscious of his strength." The impression which this young man made on the best circles in England is indicated in the testimony of Lady Wharncliffe: "I never knew an American who had the degree of social success he had; owing, I think, to the real elevation and worth of his character, his genuine nobleness of thought and aspiration, his kindliness of heart, the absence of dogmatism and oratorical display, his genuine amiability, his cultivation of mind, and his appreciation of England without anything approaching flattery of ourselves or depreciation of his own country." His professional enthusiasm was lessened by the large and rich experiences of his foreign tour. Taking it up on his return, he wrote to Lieber: "My mind, soul, heart, are not improved by the practice of my profession; by overhauling papers and old letters, and sifting accounts in order to see if there be anything on which to plant an action. The sigh will come for a canto of Dante, a rhapsody of Homer, a play of Schiller. But I shall do my duty." He was essentially unselfish, and his letters show the breadth of his sympathies, the warmth of his feelings, the catholicity of his tastes. Jealousy is as far from him as indolence. Dr. Howe, the friend of the blind, once wrote to him: "I know not what you may be about, but I know what you are *not* about. You are not seeking your own pleasure or striving to advance your own interests; you are, I warrant, on some errand of kindness—some work for a friend or for the public." Sumner's entrance upon public life was marked and brought about by several noteworthy speeches, the most brilliant being before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Harvard in 1846, in which he expressed himself freely on slavery and war, casting his address in the form of a tribute to four members of that society who had lately died. Of it Emerson wrote, "Sumner's oration was marked with a certain magnificence which I do not know where to parallel;" and Everett said, "It was an amazingly splendid affair. I never heard it surpassed; I don't know that I ever heard it equaled." Of Sumner's entrance into the United States Senate in 1851 Von Holst writes, "The rigid fidelity to principle and the fiery-spirited moral earnestness of abolitionism, united to the will and capacity to pursue political ends with the necessary political means, received in him their first representative in the Senate." Concerning that most terrific philippic on the outrages in Kansas delivered in the Senate on May 22, 1856, which brought upon him the brutal, barbarous, and almost fatal assault from Brooks, of South Carolina, a Missouri newspaper correspondent wrote: "That Sumner displayed great ability and showed that in oratorical talent he was no unworthy successor of Adams, Webster, and Everett, no one who heard him will deny. In vigor and richness of diction, in felicity and fecundity of illustration, in breadth and completeness of view, he stands unsurpassed. . . . In his reply to Cass, Douglas, and Mason, who stung him into excitement, he was more successful than at any other time. The collision knocked fire from him; and well it

might, for he was abused and insulted as grossly as any man could be; but he replied successfully to the unmeasured vituperation of Douglas and the aristocratic and withering hauteur of Mason." An English traveler in 1862 described Sumner thus: "That great, sturdy, English-looking figure, with the broad, massive forehead, over which the rich mass of nut-brown hair, streaked here and there with a line of gray, hangs loosely; with the deep blue eyes and the strangely winning smile, half bright, half full of sadness. He is a man of whom a child would ask the time in the streets, and to whom a woman would come unbidden for protection." For Sumner's re-election in 1863 John Bigelow gave the following reasons: "First, he was the most accomplished man in public life in America; second, the ablest senator in Congress; third, of unblemished private character; fourth, of unblemished public character, which no breath of calumny had ever reached, and whom no one had ever dared to approach with a dishonorable proposition; fifth, a man whose zeal and talents had been expended, not upon selfish schemes, but upon measures and policies looking to the improvement of the condition of society—such ends as, whatever difference of opinion may prevail as to the adaptation of his means to secure them, must possess the sympathy and respect of all good citizens; sixth, he is very amiable; and seventh, a man whose decorum of character and whose talents have done and are doing more than those of any other man in the Senate to avert the gradual decline of that body in the estimation of the country." In 1864 Sumner wrote a friend: "There is a strong feeling among those who have seen Mr. Lincoln in the way of business that he lacks practical talent for his important place. It is thought that there should be more readiness, and also more capacity for government." When the murdered Lincoln was dying this scene was witnessed: "Senator Sumner was seated on the right of the President's couch, near the head, holding the right hand of the President in his own. He was sobbing like a woman, with his head bowed down almost on the pillow of the bed on which Lincoln was lying." Differing sometimes on questions of policy, these two men never lost mutual confidence and respect. Sumner firmly believed in the words of Lincoln: "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and, under a just God, cannot long retain it." When Sumner's health was giving way, in 1871, the Russian minister said: "Make him rest—he must. No man in Washington can fill his place—*no man, no man.* We foreigners all know he is honest. We do not think that of many." Emerson called him "the conscience of the Senate;" and Mr. Storey's biography says at the end: "From the time he entered public life till he died he was a strong force constantly working for righteousness. He had absolute faith in the principles of free government as laid down in the Declaration of Independence, and he gave his life to secure their practical recognition. They were not to him glittering generalities, but ultimate practical truths, and in this faith Lincoln and Sumner were one. To Sumner more than to any single man, except possibly

Lincoln, the colored race owes its emancipation, and such measure of equal rights as it now enjoys. To Sumner more than to any single man the whole country owes the prevention of war with England and France when such a war would have meant the disruption of the Union."

The Nicaragua Canal. Illustrated. By WILLIAM E. SIMMONS. Crown 8vo, pp. 335. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. Price, $1.25.

The value of the proposed Nicaragua Canal to the navigation of the world will impress every careful reader of the present book. Nor will he be surprised to learn, as a consequence, that the project, instead of being new, is now centuries old. "Nicaragua has long claimed the attention of maritime nations," writes Mr. Simmons, "on account of the facilities it offers for the building of a ship canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The want of such a communication was felt much further back in the history of civilization than is generally suspected. In truth, it was the impelling force that, four hundred years ago, started Columbus out to search for a western passage to the Indies, and so led to the discovery of the New World. Long before the American coast was thoroughly explored, the San Juan River was fixed on as offering a possible way of connecting the two oceans. This suggestion was made by the Portuguese, Antonio Galvao, as far back as 1550. In the interim other routes have been advocated, but careful surveys made by the United States government demonstrated almost a decade before the disastrous attempt at Panama that the Nicaragua route was the only practicable one. The subject was first officially considered by the United States government in 1825, when Señor Cañaz, the minister to Washington from the Central American Confederation, addressed a note to Mr. Clay, then Secretary of State, inviting his attention to the advantages of the San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua for the construction of a canal. Except, however, that Mr. Clay instructed Mr. Williams, the United States *chargé d'affaires* in Central America, to ascertain if surveys had been made and if confidence could be placed in their accuracy, no action was taken by the government." Since that time, as shown by the author, the project has been a matter of repeated international consideration, while private enterprise has already spent much time and money upon the work in hope of its near consummation. The possibility of the ultimate completion of the great waterway therefore gives interest to a volume which might otherwise be dismissed with a few words of general commendation. From the standpoint of an actual traveler in Nicaragua and a careful student of its charms and its possibilities, Mr. Simmons describes for the reader the geology of Nicaragua, its government, physical aspects, fertility, climate, social and religious customs, and much more that goes to make up the life of an unfamiliar section of the world. And the charm which attaches to the usual story of tropical life is manifestly evident. The reader yields himself to the witchery of southern landscape and air, and feels his

blood to run more quickly under the impulse of Mr. Simmons's enthusiastic description. "Land of sunny skies and sparkling lakes," the latter writes concerning Nicaragua; "of beautiful scenery; of mountains blue and verdant dales; of magnificent forests and flowery fields; of fruitful soil and innumerable fruits; of healthful and delightful climate! . . . The primeval tropical forest, with its gigantic trees, its exuberant vegetation, exquisite forms and glowing colors, is a living wonder. Its majestic mountains and smoldering volcanoes, with their canopies of smoke, lift one's thoughts to the plane of sublimity. The simple, polite, and fun-loving people, their strange and interesting mode of life, the queer Spanish-American towns and picturesque Indian villages will furnish no end of entertainment and amusement to the pleasure-seeker. The antiquarian will find a rich field for investigation in the Toltec and Aztec remains, the forgotten places of worship, the overturned and half-buried statues, overgrown sepulchers, and strangely carved rocks. The student of natural history will find an inexhaustible store of wealth in the wonderful flora and fauna of the country. To the sportsman it is a veritable 'happy hunting ground' below, stocked with an astonishing variety of game both in forest and stream, while to the yachtsman it offers one of the most changeful and charming winter cruises to be had anywhere in the world." It is not superfluous to repeat that this is an opportune book. In the onward movement of the world to the realization of its sublimer destinies, some such monumental work must come early in the new century as the completion of a canal between the two oceans.

Théodore Beza. The Counsellor of the French Reformation, 1519-1605. By HENRY MARTYN BAIRD, Professor in New York University, Author of *History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France*, etc. 12mo, pp. 376. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.50.

No one who reads this volume will have the disposition to underestimate the greatness of its hero or the importance of the epoch which it portrays. The times were those of stress and struggle, when Protestantism in France was fighting some of its first great battles, and when there was no place for craven souls in the field. How crucial were these times Professor Baird shows in detail, and how supreme a leader was Beza for the emergencies which confronted the Protestant faith. We cannot but regard him with veneration. As an educator, author, controversialist, preacher, and Christian disciple he was a central figure in his generation. Not by any empty words of eulogy, but rather by the plain and consecutive narrative of what he accomplished, does Professor Baird demonstrate this to have been the fact. And yet too little is known of his leadership; for, to repeat the surprise of the author, "there seems to be no life of Theodore Beza accessible to the general reader, either in English or in French." To remedy this defect the professor has contributed a welcome volume. In its scope it sweeps the whole life of Beza, containing among its chapters those that are entitled,

"Childhood and Youth," "Beza in Paris," "Beza's Activity at Lausanne," "Becomes Calvin's Coadjutor—Rector of the University of Geneva," "Speech at the Colloquy of Poissy," "Counsellor of Condé and the Huguenots in the First Civil War," "Beza Succeeds Calvin—Edits Greek New Testament," "Controversies and Controversial Writings," "Beza and the Huguenot Psalter," "The Patriotic Preacher—Henry IV's Apostasy," "Beza's Later Years in Geneva," and "Closing Days." To gain an accurate and full understanding of these succeeding incidents in the hero's life the professor has gone to such original sources as Beza's autobiographical notes, letters, and treatises. His labor in their translation and chronological arrangement must have been very great; yet with that disposition for historical authorship which has already won him notice he has prosecuted his present task to a completion that is most satisfactory. There is merely room to quote his description of Beza's personal traits which individualized him among the great reformers of his time: "Theodore Beza, whose career and influence I purpose to trace, did not possess precisely the same remarkable natural endowments that fitted Martin Luther and John Calvin for the accomplishment of their brilliant undertakings, but in a different sphere his task was of scarcely inferior importance, and was accomplished equally well. Like Melanchthon, he belonged to another and not less essential class of men whose great office it is to consolidate and render permanent what has been begun and carried forward to a certain point of development by others. But between Beza and Melanchthon there was a marked contrast of allotted activity. Melanchthon was born fourteen years later than Luther, and survived him by the same number of years. He was, therefore, a younger contemporary of the great German reformer, and his office was preeminently that of supplementing what seemed naturally lacking in the master whom he loved and revered, moderating that master's inordinate fire, by his prudence restraining the older reformer's intemperate zeal, by his superior learning and scholarship qualifying himself to become in a peculiarly appropriate sense the teacher of the doctrines which Luther had propounded. Beza was still nearer to Calvin in point of birth, for only the space of ten years separated them. But he outlived Calvin more than four times that number of years, and ended his life at over fourscore, and early in another century. Thus, while Melanchthon is naturally to be regarded as a companion of Luther, Beza presents himself to view chiefly as a theological successor of Calvin, in whose doctrinal system he introduced little change and which he merely accentuated, and as an independent leader of the French Reformed Churches during over a third of a century. More, perhaps, than any of the other prominent leaders of the great religious movement of his time, Beza is entitled to be styled the 'courtly reformer.'" The professor has written with unfailing discrimination, and only words of praise are to be spoken of his volume, wherein Theodore Beza becomes to us increasingly real, influential, and heroic.

Report on the Island of Porto Rico: Its Population, Civil Government, Commerce, Industries, Productions, Roads, Tariff, and Currency. With Recommendations by HENRY K. CARROLL, Special Commissioner for the United States to Porto Rico. Respectfully submitted to HON. WILLIAM MCKINLEY, President of the United States. 8vo, pp. 813. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Though this voluminous report is in the nature of a government document, rather than a publication for miscellaneous reading, its importance justifies a cordial notice. As a special commissioner for the United States appointed "to investigate the civil, industrial, financial, and social conditions of Porto Rico," Dr. Carroll twice visited the island, and through a period of several months prosecuted his necessary investigations. There is more in his very ample report than may here be enumerated. Much of it is made up of testimonies invited from persons of varying occupations and social rank upon the different phases of life in Porto Rico. So minute was Dr. Carroll's observation during his exhaustive journeys through the municipal districts of the island that it is not easy to detect the omission of any needed information from this report. "The United States," he writes, "is to be congratulated on the acquisition of Porto Rico. It is a beautiful island, well worthy the admiration of its new possessors, accustomed to the most varied and picturesque scenery in their own wide domain." And no one can read the commissioner's report without the conviction that the future has many good things in store for Porto Rico. When, however, Dr. Carroll proposes for it "a territorial form of government similar to that established in Oklahoma," and "a delegate to Congress" elected by the legal voters of the island, he suggests an experiment that to many will seem hazardous. It is but a step from territorial government to Statehood; and whether the Constitution permits such a step yet remains to be shown—to say nothing of the expediency of the measure. Dr. Carroll has, nevertheless, furnished a document which is authoritative and comprehensive.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Ulric the Jarl. A Story of the Penitent Thief. By WILLIAM O. STODDARD. Crown 8vo, pp. 450. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The story begins Around the Viking House-fire, and goes on with the Going Out of the Ice, the Launching of the Ship, the Fall of the Ice King, the Saxon Shore, the Taking of the Trireme, the Great Sacrifice of the Druids, the Passing of Lars the Old, the Jew and the Greek, the Storm in the Middle Sea, the Dead God in Africa, Carmel and Esdraelon, the Rabbi from Nazareth, the Tomb Song of Sigurd, the Passing of Oswald, the Messenger of the Procurator, the Cunning of Julius, the Lion and the Tiger, the Jarl and the Rabbi, the Javelin of Herod, the Places of Sacrifice, the Mob of Samaria, the House of Pontius the Spearman, the School of Gamaliel, the Secret Messenger,

the House of Ben Ezra, the Son of Abbas, and the Passover Feast. Then a closing chapter entitled, "A Little While." It is a new story moving toward and centering upon the Christ—one of ten thousand times ten thousand illustrations of the fact that from every point of the compass, from all lands and periods of time, the human mind turns ever to Jesus and to Calvary as the magnetic center of history, the eternal center of human knowledge and faith and love and imagination. The story is well written and impressive.

The Amateur Practical Garden Book. Containing the Simplest Directions for the Growing of the Commonest Things about the House and Garden. By C. E. HUNN and L. H. BAILEY. 12mo, pp. 250. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.

The garden-maker can follow the instructions of this little handbook to advantage. Avoiding scientific phrase and elaborate discussion, it puts into simple language the things that many need to know. "The same questions," writes Professor Bailey—of the Horticultural Department of Cornell University, and one of the two editors of the book—"are asked every year, and they will always be asked—the questions about the simplest garden operations. Upon this desire for commonplace advice the horticultural journals live. A journal which publishes only things which are new would find little support. Some of these common questions I have tried to answer in this little book. I wish them answered in the simple and direct phrase of the gardener. Therefore I asked my friend, C. E. Hunn, gardener to the Horticultural Department of Cornell University, who lives with plants, to write advice for one who would make a garden; and this he did in a summer vacation. These notes, edited and amplified, now make this book." Not only financial return, but, what is not less desirable, the cultivation of the taste for artistic gardening, will follow obedience to the counsels of this practical little treatise.

Roses. By AMY LE FEUVRE, author of *Probable Sons, Teddie's Button, The Odd One*, etc. Illustrations by Sydney Cowell. 12mo, pp. 266. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

The author is a popular writer for and about children. Her bright stories teem with the quaint sayings and interesting experiences of the children who live and play and prattle and discuss so delightfully in them. Sixteen charming new stories make up this pretty volume. Their very titles entice the lover of child life.

Elvira Hopkins of Tompkins' Corners. By IZORA CHANDLER. Author of *Three of Us, A Dog of Constantinople*, etc. 12mo, pp. 195. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham. Price, cloth, ornamental, 75 cents.

The dedication implies that the author's real name is not revealed. The book purports to be written by the "comfortably-off maiden lady" whose face is sketched on the cover. Its shrewdness is none the less effective for being written in the quaint country dialect of central New York; indeed its style recalls David Harum.

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